
00035321

00035321

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 31 October, 2019

Cambridge Historical Series

EDITED BY G. W. PROTHERO, LITT.D.

HONORARY FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

THE COLONIZATION OF AFRICA.

London: C. J. CLAY AND SONS,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
AVE MARIA LANE.
Glasgow: 263, ARGYLE STREET.



Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.
New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.
Bombay: E. SEYMOUR HALE.

A HISTORY

OF THE

COLONIZATION OF AFRICA

BY ALIEN RACES

GOD
960.2
35321 ac
Joh/His
BY
35321

SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON, K.C.B.

(AUTHOR OF "BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA," ETC.).

WITH EIGHT MAPS BY THE AUTHOR AND J. G. BARTHOLOMEW.

TT-Q 19

CAMBRIDGE:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
1899

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

[*All Rights reserved.*]

GENERAL PREFACE.

The aim of this series is to sketch the history of Modern Europe, with that of its chief colonies and conquests, from about the end of the fifteenth century down to the present time. In one or two cases the story will commence at an earlier date: in the case of the colonies it will usually begin later. The histories of the different countries will be described, as a general rule, separately, for it is believed that, except in epochs like that of the French Revolution and Napoleon I, the connection of events will thus be better understood and the continuity of historical development more clearly displayed.

The series is intended for the use of all persons anxious to understand the nature of existing political conditions. "The roots of the present lie deep in the past," and the real significance of contemporary events cannot be grasped unless the historical causes which have led to them are known. The plan adopted makes it possible to treat the history of the last four centuries in considerable detail, and to embody the most important results of modern research. It is hoped therefore that the series will be useful not only to beginners but to students who have already acquired some general knowledge of European History. For those who wish to carry their studies further, the bibliography appended to each volume will act as a guide to original sources of information and works more detailed and authoritative.

Considerable attention will be paid to political geography, and each volume will be furnished with such maps and plans as may be requisite for the illustration of the text.

G. W. PROTHERO.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Editor of this Historical series asked me to compile this little work on the History of African Colonization; otherwise it is doubtful whether I should have applied myself to a task, which, until I had commenced it, appeared to me an act of supererogation in the presence of such admirable existing works on African history as those of Mr McCall Theal, Dr Scott-Keltie, Mr C. P. Lucas, Sir Edward Hertslet and others. But when I was made aware that no attempt had yet been made to summarise and review in a single book the general history of the attempts of Asia and Europe to colonize Africa during the historical period, I admitted that there might be room and usefulness for such a work, and have since attempted to fulfil the task to the best of my ability. Further preface would overload this unpretending compilation; but, turning away from the public, I should like to dedicate my work in personal friendliness and admiration to four men specially distinguished among many others by their services in the cause of European civilization in Africa: SIR GEORGE TAUBMAN GOLDIE, who has risked life and fortune through twenty years in founding Nigeria as a British dominion, which some [redacted] in extent, population, and wealth may rival India; LORD KITCHENER of KHARTUM, who for thirteen years has cherished, in the face of much discouragement, and has at last accomplished the task of reconquering from barbarism the Egyptian

Sudan; MONSIEUR RENÉ MILLET, French Resident General in Tunis, who has shown how well a Frenchman can administer a great dependency when allowed liberty of action; and MAJOR HERMANN VON WISSMANN, German Imperial Commissioner in Africa, who founded the State of German East Africa, and who has done more than any living German to establish and uphold the prestige of that great nation in the darkest parts of the Dark Continent.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

TUNIS, *November*, 1898.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

MEDITERRANEAN, MALAY, AND MUHAMMADAN INVADERS.

The origin of African man—Distribution of native races three thousand years ago—Bantu invasion of South Africa—The Phoenicians—Carthage—Hanno's voyage—Greeks in Cyrenaica and Egypt—Persians in Egypt—Rome replaces Carthage—Malay invasions of Madagascar—Vandals in North Africa—Byzantine Greeks—Muhammadan invasions of North Africa in the seventh century—Berber dynasties which arose therefrom—Renewed Arab invasions—The Almoravide dynasty from the Niger—succeeded by the Almohades—Counter attacks of Portugal and Spain—Moorish conquests in Nigeria—Turkish intervention in North Africa—Arab settlements on Zanzibar coast . 1

CHAPTER II.

THE PORTUGUESE IN AFRICA.

Origin of the State of Portugal—Prince Henry the Navigator—Portuguese explorations of West African coast—Rounding of Cape of Good Hope—East African conquests—Portuguese in Abyssinia—in the Congo Kingdom—in Angola—Paulo Diaz—The benefits the Portuguese conferred on Africa—Their struggles with the Dutch—Progress of their rule in West Africa—in East Africa—Monomotapa—Dr Lacerda e Almeida—Livingstone's journeys—Present state of Moçambique—Delagoa Bay—Beira—Mouzinho de Albuquerque—Moçambique Company 27

CHAPTER III.

SPANISH AFRICA.

Spain's North African establishments in the 16th century—The Moorish Pirates—Gradual loss of Spanish possessions in Algeria and Tunis—Canary Islands—Fernando Po and Corisco 61

CHAPTER IV.

THE DUTCH IN AFRICA.

Dutch traders on the West Coast—Dutch settle at the Cape of Good Hope—St Helena—Mauritius—The Netherland East India Co.—Huguenot colonists—Governor Tulbagh—extensions of Dutch influence—First hostile British expedition under Commodore Johnstone—First Dutch war with the Kaffirs—First British occupation of the Cape of Good Hope—Interregnum of Dutch rule—British finally annex Cape Colony—Their rulers come into conflict with the sentiments of the Dutch colonists (Boers)—The Boer Treks—Origin of Transvaal and Orange Free State republics—Annexation and revolt of Transvaal—Sir Charles Warren's expedition—Johannesburg, the Outlanders, and Jameson's raid—Possible future of Dutch states . . . 66

CHAPTER V.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

Negro predisposition for slavery—Slave trade in the Roman world, in Muhammadan countries and India—Great development consequent on the exploitation of America—English slave traders—English Anti-Slavery movement—Author's own experiences of slave trade—Steps taken by various European countries to abolish Slave Trade—By Great Britain in particular—Rev. S. W. Koelle—Zanzibar slave trade—Ethics of slavery—A word of warning to the Negro . . 91

CHAPTER VI.

THE BRITISH IN AFRICA, I.

(*West Coast, Morocco, North-Central.*)

The English in West Africa—The Gambia—Sierra Leone—Gold Coast—Lagos—Niger Delta—Mr E. H. Hewett—Nigeria—Sir G. Taubman Goldie—Great Britain and Tripoli—and Morocco . . . 103

CHAPTER VII.

THE FRENCH IN WEST AND NORTH AFRICA.

The Dieppe adventurers—Jannequin de Rochefort and the Senegal—Brüe and the foundation of the colony of Senegal—Campagnon—Progress of French rule over Senegambia—Advance to the Niger—Samori and Ahmadu—Timbuktu—Binger and the Ivory Coast—Samori—Timbuktu definitely occupied—Busa and the Anglo-French Convention—France and Egypt—Algiers—Development of Algeria—Tunis—The Sahara—The Gaboon—French Congo—The Shari and Ubangi—French designs on Nileland—The convention with Abyssinia—Obok and Somaliland 122

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

Their work the antithesis to the slave trade—Portuguese missions to Congoland, to the Zambezi, to Abyssinia—First Protestant missions—Church Missionary Society—Dr Krapf—Wesleyans, Methodists, Society for Propagation of the Gospel—Roman Catholic missions to Algeria, Congoland, the Nile—Cardinal Lavigerie—The 'White Fathers'—The Jesuits on the Zambezi—in Madagascar—The London Missionary Society—Swiss and German Protestant Missions—French Evangelical Missions—Presbyterian (Scotch) Missions—Norwegian and American Missions—Linguistic work of latter—Universities' Mission—Plymouth Brethren—Baptists—North African Mission—Zambezi Industrial Mission—Abyssinian Christianity . . 146

CHAPTER IX.

THE BRITISH IN AFRICA, II.

(*South and South-Central.*)

Great Britain's seizure of the Cape of Good Hope—Permanent establishment there—Abolition of slavery—Dutch grievances—Kaffir Wars—Lord Glenelg and intervention of Downing Street—Boer Treks—Responsible government in Cape Colony—Kaffir delusions as to expected resurrection of their forefathers and expulsion of English—St Helena, Ascension and Tristan d'Acunha—Discovery of diamonds in Grikwaland—History of Natal—Coolie labour and Indian

immigration — Delagoa Bay arbitration — Damaraland—Origin of German entrance into South African sphere—Walfish Bay—Bechuanaland—Zambezia—Nyasaland—British Central Africa—African Transcontinental Telegraph—South African federation—The Transvaal—Sir Bartle Frere—Zululand and the Zulu War—Boer revolt—Rhodes and Rhodesia—Matabele Wars and Dr Jameson—Mauritius . 160

CHAPTER X.

Great Explorers.

Old-time travellers — Herodotus — Strabo — Pliny — Ptolemy—The Arab geographers—The Portuguese explorers—Andrew Battel—British on the Gambia—French on the Senegal—James Bruce and the Blue Nile —Timbuktu—Mungo Park and the Niger—South African explorations —Portugal and Dr Lacerda—Captain Owen—Tuckey and the Congo —Major Laing—René Caillé—British Government expeditions in Tripoli,—Bornu, Lake Chad, and Sokoto—Lander and the Niger mouth—Barth and the Western Sudan—the Jewish explorer Mordokhai—Krapf, Rebmann, and the Snow Mountains—Livingstone—Burton and Speke, Speke and Grant—Samuel Baker—Livingstone and Kirk—French explorers in North-West Africa—Livingstone and Central Africa—Cameron—Rohlfs—Nachtigal—Alexandrine Tinné—Paul du Chaillu—Winwood Reade—Stanley and the Congo—Portuguese explorers—Schweinfürth and the Welle—Nile explorers—Nyasaland explorations—Dr Felkin—Joseph Thomson—George Grenfell—Emin Pasha—Recent explorers and explorations . . 190

CHAPTER XI.

Belgian Africa.

Comité d'Etudes du Haut Congo—Mr H. M. Stanley founds the Congo Free State—its subsequent history—Long struggle with the Arabs—Lieut. Dhanis—Rumoured atrocities—Katanga—Extension to the White Nile—Murder of Mr Stokes—Railway to Stanley Pool—Future of Congo Free State 225

CHAPTER XII.

THE BRITISH IN AFRICA, III.

(*Egypt and Eastern Africa.*)

England wrests Egypt from the French—Rise of Muhammad Ali—Suez Canal—Arabi's rebellion—Tel-el-Kebir—Mahdi's revolt—Gordon's death—Lord Cromer—Lord Kitchener and the reconquest of the Sudan—Fashoda—Aden and Somaliland—Zanzibar—Sir John Kirk—Kilimanjaro—British East African Company—Colonel Lugard and Uganda—Sir Gerald Portal—"Roddy Owen"—Zanzibar administration—Dissolution of British East Africa Company 231

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ITALIANS IN AFRICA.

Italian commercial intercourse with North Africa during Crusades and Renaissance—Italy in Tunis and Tripoli—Assab Bay—Abyssinia—Eritrea—Italian reverse at Adua—Italy in Somaliland . . . 243

CHAPTER XIV.

GERMAN AFRICA.

The Brandenburg traders and the West Coast—German aspirations after colonies in the "40's" and "60's"—German missionaries in South-West Africa—Herr Lüderitz—Angra Pequena—British indecision—German South-West Africa Protectorate founded—Germany in the Cameroons—in East Africa—Anglo-German partition of the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions—prospects of German rule in Africa—German South-West Africa—Togoland 249

CHAPTER XV.

THE FRENCH IN MADAGASCAR.

First rumours of the existence of Madagascar—Confusion with Zanzibar and the Comoro Islands—Portuguese discovery—French Company of the East founded to colonize the Island—Fort Dauphin—Pronis, the immoral governor—Vacher de Rochelle, King-Consort of a Malagasy Queen—French East India Company founded. Île de Bourbon colonized—The Madagascar Pirates—French found settlement of St Marie de Madagascar—Send scientific expeditions to Madagascar

which first make known its peculiar fauna—Benyowski, the Polish adventurer—The Malagasy—The Hovas—English capture Mauritius and Bourbon and turn the French out of Madagascar—French regain Bourbon and re-occupy St Marie de Madagascar—First missionaries of the London Missionary Society arrive in Madagascar (1818)—Rise of Radama and the Hova power—French repulse in 1829—The ship-wrecked sailor, Laborde—Queen Ranavalona and persecutions of the Christians—The Sakalavas—Prince Rakoto and Lambert's frustrated coup d'état—Accession of Rakoto (Radama II)—Deposition and death—French concession repudiated and indemnity paid—The Laborde succession—Quarrel with France in 1883—The Shaw incident—General Willoughby—England recognizes French protectorate over Madagascar—final invasion, conquest and annexation of the Island by the French 261

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCLUSION.

Three classes into which Africa falls from colonization standpoint—Healthy Africa—Yellow Africa—Black Africa—Prognostications as to future race movements—Predominant European races in the future—The seven great languages of New Africa—Paganism will disappear—Muhammadan zeal will eventually decay—The Negro will become identified in national interests with his diverse European rulers, and will not unite to form a universal Negro nation with the cry of 'Africa for the Africans' 277

Supplementary Notes 285

Appendix I. Notable events and dates in the history of African colonization 289

Appendix II. Bibliography 300

Index 303

LIST OF MAPS.

1. Map of Africa as known to the Ancients; showing distribution of native races and lines of Bantu invasion . *To face* p. 4.
2. Muhammadan Africa . . . . . *To face* p. 26.
3. The Portuguese in Africa . . . . . *To face* p. 60.
4. The Slave Trade . . . . . *To face* p. 91.
5. The French in Africa . . . . . *To face* p. 145.
6. The British in Africa . . . . . *To face* p. 231.
7. The Colonizability of Africa . . . . *To face* p. 275.
8. Political Map of Africa in 1898 . . . . *At end.*

Note. The spelling of African names adopted throughout this book is the system sanctioned by the Royal Geographical Society, by which all consonants are pronounced as in English and all vowels as in Italian. Ñ, ñ represents the nasal sound of 'ng' in 'ri*ng*ing,' 'so*ng*,' as distinguished from the 'ng' in 'anger.' No consonants are doubled unless pronounced twice in succession: thus 'Massowah' is properly written Masawa. But where old established custom has sanctioned a spelling diverging from these rules the official spelling of the name is adopted. Thus: Moçambique instead of Msambiki; Quelimane instead of Kelimān; Uganda instead of the more correct Buganda; Bonny instead of Obani.

CHAPTER I.

MEDITERRANEAN, MALAY, AND MUHAMMADAN INVADERS.

THE theme of this book obviously deals rather with the invasion and settlement of Africa by foreign nations than with the movements of people indigenous in their present types to the African continent; but, nevertheless, it may be well to precede this sketch of the history of African colonization by a few remarks explaining the condition and inhabitants of the continent—so far as we can deduce them from indirect evidence—before it was subjected to historic invasions of alien peoples.

In all probability man first entered Africa from Asia, in which continent he almost certainly originated. He followed in the footsteps of those large mammals which now form the most striking features in the African fauna, but which were unknown in that continent before the end of the Tertiary epoch. Later on, and still in prehistoric times, there were no doubt migrations of European man from the northern side of the Mediterranean, just as probably counter race movements occurred from the north of Africa into southern Europe. But it seems much more likely that the bulk of African humanity in its original types passed from India into Arabia, and thence into north-eastern Africa[1].

[1] Geologists seem still to be divided in opinion as to the existence in Tertiary times of a land surface connecting southern Africa with southern

Early African man was of a very low negroid type, like the Bushmen and Hottentots, and was also akin to the negroid peoples still existing in southern Asia and Oceania. From this stock—either in its first place of expansion, Arabia, or in north-east Africa—diverged the black Negro[1] and the yellow Hamite, and from this latter, the white Semite; it is probable, however, that the divergence of the Hamites and Semites from the primitive Negro stock took place in Arabia rather than in Africa, though from historical results it is better to assume that the Hamite is an African type and the Semite an Asiatic. One branch of the Hamites invading Europe from north-west Africa possibly created that dark-haired Iberian race which has so permeated southern and western Europe. Another Hamite development in the valley of the Nile resulted in that great Egyptian people with whom the dawn of written history commences, and who threw for a time an effulgent light on north-east Africa. But the ancient Egyptians, being regarded by most authorities as essentially an African people, cannot come within the scope of this book as colonists, though their wonderful civilization did much to attract Asiatic and European races to the invasion of Africa.

About 3000 years ago—a minute in the duration of the human genus—the distribution of African races was probably as follows:—Egypt, Abyssinia, Somaliland, the northern part of the Sahara Desert, and all North Africa, were peopled by

Asia. It is therefore much more easy to assume that the shallow Red Sea was at one time reduced to a series of salt lakes, and that the land between them was the route early man followed. Had Lemuria existed in later Tertiary times why does not its relic, Madagascar, retain descendants of the large African mammals which would have made their way across this route from India to Africa?

[1] Not perhaps black originally but a dirty yellow-brown, like the Bushmen and Hottentots and new-born negro infants; the distinction of hair is perhaps the best definition of these allied races—the woolly-haired negro, the curly-haired Hamite, and the straight-haired Semite.

Hamite races, who varied in complexion from dark brown to yellow white. To the south and east were mixed peoples, like the Nubians, Tibbus, Fulas, Mandingoes, who either represent superior offshoots from the negroid stock (though inferior in upward development to the Hamite), or the result of interbreeding between the Hamites and their divergent relations the true Negroes. The latter—the black, woolly-haired Negroes —stretched right across the continent in a great belt from Abyssinia to the Atlantic Ocean, but were arrested in their progress southwards by the Congo forests and some other obstacles unknown to us, which, until relatively recent times, prevented their occupying the southern half of Africa. Through these equatorial forests, and beyond them to the southernmost extremity of Africa, ranged a dwarfish people of pigmy Bushman type, to some extent degenerate, but on the whole representing the earliest form of the Negro species which invaded Africa, a type that perhaps had overrun all Africa and had penetrated thence into Mediterranean Europe, but which had at the period I am reviewing been in a great measure extirpated from all Africa north of the Congo basin. Possibly in the east and west coast regions black Negroes had penetrated to some degrees south of the equator, though no further than the latitude of Zanzibar. There were no foreign settlers then in Africa, unless a few wandering Semites had settled in Egypt or in the highlands of Abyssinia, and except for prehistoric invasions of Mauritania by European savages.

A little later on occurred the great movement of the Bantu Negroes. The actual centre of Africa had by this time (say under 3000 years ago) become extremely populous. Want of space, and possibly the invasion of stronger races from the north or north-east, forced the Negro tribes speaking the Bantu mother language—a speech distantly related to many language groups in the lower Niger basin and on the west coast of Africa, and still more distantly to other linguistic families in north central Africa—to invade *en masse* the southern portion of the

continent till then inhabited only by Bushmen, Hottentots[1], and such-like dwarfish tribes. Skirting the dense Congo forests, they took the line of least resistance down the eastern side of the continent, along the great lakes, the line by which their main body proceeded due south, while section after section curled back westward into the Congo basin, and eastward on to the Zanzibar and Moçambique coasts. Soon these black Bantu Negroes were the masters of southern Africa, and feeble remnants of the aboriginal dwarf races lingered only in the Congo forests and in the south-west corner of the continent. Some evidence is adduced to show that Madagascar was first inhabited by a dwarfish race of Bushmen stock known as the Kimo. If this is the case, and the evidence offered is very slight, these first inhabitants of Madagascar must have been sufficiently civilized to have been able to travel in canoes from the east coast of Africa by way of the Comoro islands to Madagascar. However that may be, it is much more certain that a section of the Bantu Negroes did invade Madagascar from the east coast of Africa at a period antecedent to the arrival of the Malay races. These were known as the Ba-Zimba or Va-Zimba. They were subsequently absorbed by the later invaders of Malay stock, so that along the west and south coasts of Madagascar the people are very negroid in appearance.

Almost coincident with the Bantu race movement occurred the first conscient Semitic attempts at colonizing Africa. The enterprising Phoenicians founded Carthage and established trading stations along the north and north-west coasts of Africa. Nearly at the same time came Arabs from the west coast of Arabia voyaging down the east coast of Africa till they ultimately settled in the Sofala[2] district south of the Zambezi, and

[1] The Hottentots are thought by some to represent a cross between the black Negroes and the Bushmen: but it is more likely from linguistic and other reasons that they are an independent offshoot of the original Negroid stock related to the Bushman.

[2] In Arabic: زفار "Zufar."

penetrating inland, commenced to work the gold-mines of modern Rhodesia, leaving there as witnesses of their presence the stone forts and buildings which we have recently rediscovered[1]. A Semitic people also about the same time began to settle in Abyssinia[2], where it has remained the dominant race ever since. Other Phoenicians, besides those who founded Carthage, explored the coasts of Africa, especially the east coast, where they founded stations as far south as Moçambique, possibly. They may have even reached the gold-bearing districts of the Zambezi, and one expedition under Phoenician navigators employed by the Egyptian king, Necho, is said to have circumnavigated Africa from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean (about 600 B.C.).

On the whole, the most fruitful of the pre-Roman invasions of Africa (as it was almost the earliest) was the foundation of Utica (about 1100 B.C.) and Carthage (about 280 years later). The Phoenicians (whose descendants have become known as the Carthaginians, though to the Romans they were always the Poeni or Pūni) in the main founded trading stations rather than colonies; but the cities of Utica, Carthage, Hippo[3], and the other Carthaginian ports on the north-east coast of Tunis, naturally under a centralized government to some extent maintained during centuries a domination over the Berber tribes of what is now Tunisia. There are traces of a Carthaginian causeway running up the valley of the Majerda and south-east towards the country of the dates and the hot springs. When Carthage was most vigorous, no doubt the Berber tribes within 100 miles of her strongest settlements gave her their allegiance in a varying degree; but at the least weakening of her power

[1] From the graven representations of the natives left by these early Arab-Sabaean settlers we know that they belonged then exclusively to the Hottentot-Bushman type.

[2] Semitic invasions of Egypt probably preceded all the events I here enumerate.

[3] In this case, the Hippo Diarrhytus of the Greeks and Romans, and the Benzert of modern Tunis. [Low Latin, Hippone-Zaryt.]

they were ready to revolt and take part with her enemies. The troops she employed were alien to her race and mercenaries. A large proportion of them were recruited in Barbary. They frequently mutinied and turned against their Syrian employers. Yet occasionally Carthage produced a man like Hannibal who could win the confidence of these Berber soldiers and lead them to fight the battles of Carthage in Spain, Sicily, and Italy. In the outlying districts of north Africa, however, especially in Morocco, tradition states that the Berbers occasionally rose *en masse* and destroyed the Carthaginian settlements. These trading stations were dotted over the north coast of Africa to the Straits of Gibraltar, and down the Atlantic coast of Morocco to a point almost within sight of the Canary Islands. There has been transmitted to us through the diligence of ancient Greek geographers the Greek version of what is supposed to be the original description in Punic of the voyage of Hanno the Carthaginian. This Punic explorer started from Carthage some time in the sixth century before Christ (perhaps about 520 B.C.) with a fleet of 60 ships, and a multitude of men and women (said to have been 30,000 in number), on a voyage of discovery mainly, but also for the purpose of replenishing with settlers the Carthaginian stations along the coast of Morocco. In the account given of the journey it is stated that after passing the Straits of Hercules, and stopping at the site of the modern Sebu, they rounded Cape Cantin and came to a marsh in which a large number of elephants were disporting themselves[1]. They then continued their journey along the coast till they came to the river Lixus, which has been identified with the

[1] This is an interesting observation. Not only does the statement repeatedly occur in the writings of ancient Greek and Roman geographers that the African elephant was found wild in Mauritania in these times, but this animal is pictured in the remarkable rock sculptures in the Sus country in the extreme south of Morocco, and in the Roman mosaics and frescoes found in the interior of Tunis, and now to be seen at the Bardo Museum near Tunis. (See for this the travels of the Moroccan Jewish Rabbi, Mordokhai.)

river Draa. From here they coasted the desert till they reached the Rio d'Ouro, and on an islet at the head of this inlet they founded the commercial station of Kerne. From Kerne they made an expedition as far south as a river which has been identified as the river Senegal (having first visited the Lagoon of Teniahir). Again setting out from Kerne, they passed Cape Verde, the river Gambia, and the Sierra Leone coast as far as the Sherboro inlet, which was the limit of their voyage of discovery. Here they encountered "wild men and women covered with hair"—probably the chimpanzees, which are found there to this day, and not the gorilla, which is an ape (so far as we know) peculiar to the Gaboon. As Hanno's interpreter called these creatures "gorilla" that name was long afterwards—I think wrongly—applied to the huge anthropoid ape of the Gaboon. When this expedition visited the vicinity of the Senegal river they were attacked by the natives, who were described as "wild men wearing the skins of beasts and defending themselves with stones." So far as we know, this was the first sight that civilized man had of his wild brother since the two had parted company in Neolithic times, except for glimpses of the Troglodytes, whom the Carthaginians appear to have met with in the valley of the river Draa[1].

At Kerne and other trading stations on the coast to the south of Morocco, the Carthaginians did no doubt a little trade with the Berber natives in the produce of the Sudan, south of the Sahara, but after a time the weakening of the power of Carthage and the attacks of the natives must have destroyed most of these West African settlements; for the Romans in replacing the Carthaginians do not seem to have gone further south than the river Draa.

[1] It does not follow, however, that these Troglodytes were dwarfs or Negroes, or greatly different in race from the Berbers. They may have been akin to the Troglodytes I have recently seen in the Tunisian Sahara, a Berber people living in caves, which are either natural hollows in the limestone rock or have been deliberately excavated.

The Carthaginians do not seem to have tamed the indigenous African elephant (which was certainly still found in Mauritania), but they introduced and used the Indian elephant. They also seem to have imported from Asia the peacock, still very common as a domestic bird in Tunisia. Compared with the Romans, however, they did little to open up the country, and their trade was restricted by jealous monopolies; but their religion—the worship of Baal and other Syrian deities—spread to some extent among the Berbers, and the peculiar Semitic influence emanating from Carthaginian rule seems to have paved the way for the Judaizing of certain Berber tribes before and after the Roman Empire, and for the Muhammadanizing of the same at a still later date before the Jewish influence had quite died away. Amid all their wrangles, Berber and Semite throughout all the recorded history of North Africa seem to have unconsciously recognized that by descent and language they were more akin than either was with the Aryan peoples.

The earliest historical connection between Europe and Africa was brought about by the Greeks, commencing some 600 years before Christ[1], who settled in the country of Cyrene, the modern province of Barca. After the successful repulse of the Persians there was a great expansion of Greece. Prior to the historical establishment of settlements in the Ionian Islands, in Sicily, at Marseilles and on the east coast of Spain, Greek seamen had no doubt ranged the coasts of the Mediterranean, and from their adventures were evolved the fascinating stories of the Argonauts and Ulysses. Prehistoric settlements of Greeks on the coast of Tunis are argued by modern French ethnologists to have taken place, on the strength of the well-marked Greek type to be found amongst the present population, for instance, in the Cape Bon peninsula; but these Greek types may be more probably descended from the Byzantine occupation of the country in the Christian era. The

[1] The computation given by Eusebius would, according to the late Sir E. H. Bunbury, place the founding of the colony in B.C. 631.

Island of Lotos Eaters, however, of Greek mythology, would seem with likelihood to take its origin in the island of Jerba, where the date palm is indigenous[1]. But about B.C. 631 an expedition of Dorians from the island of Thera[2] founded Cyrene on the north coast of Africa, where that continent approaches closest to the Greek Archipelago. Around Cyrene were grouped four other cities—Barke, Teucheira, Euesperides, and Apollonia. This Greek colony continued to exist with varying fortunes—threatened at times with dissolution through the civil wars of the colonists and the intermittent attacks of the Berbers—till it came under the control of Rome 100 years before Christ. It was occasionally dominated by the Greek dynasty of the Ptolemies in Egypt. Its civilization was finally extinguished by the disastrous Arab invasion in the seventh century of the present era. But it had existed under various lords for 1300 years, and it is curious that during this long period its Greek settlers should have made no attempts to open up communication with inner Africa. The fact is that the Cyrenaica is separated from the Sudan by a more complete and absolute stretch of desert than intervenes between Tripoli, Tunis, or Morocco and the regions of the Niger and Lake Chad.

In the adjoining country of Egypt the Greeks began to appear as merchants and travellers in the seventh century B.C. A Pharaoh named Psammetik had employed Greek mercenaries to assist him in establishing his claims to the throne of Egypt. He rewarded their services by allowing their countrymen to trade with the ports of the Nile delta. The city of Naucratis was founded not far from the modern Rosetta, and became almost a Greek colony. Nearly 200 years later Herodotus, a native of Halicarnassus (a Greek settlement in Asia Minor),

[1] The date was almost certainly the lotos of the ancients. It is much more likely to have made a profound impression on them by its honey-sweet pulp than the insipid berries of the Zizyphus.

[2] The modern Santorin or Thira, the most southern of the Cyclades.

visited Egypt and Cyrene. It is probable that he ascended the Nile as far as the First Cataract. He found his fellow-countrymen settled as merchants and mechanics and also as soldiers in the delta of the Nile, and he records that the whole coast of Cyrenaica between Dernah, near the borders of Egypt, and Benghazi (Euesperides) was wholly occupied by Greek settlements.

Through Herodotus and even earlier Greek writers, like Hecataeus (who derived his information from the Phoenicians), vague rumours reached the Greek world of the Niger River, of ostriches[1], the dwarf races of Central Africa (then perhaps lingering about the Sahara and the south of Morocco), and baboons, described as "men with dogs' heads[2]."

The great development of the Persian Empire under Cyrus brought that power into eventual conflict with Egypt; and under Cambyses the Persians actually conquered Egypt (in 525 B.C.), besides then and subsequently dominating the western and southern parts of Arabia, from which they occasionally meddled with Ethiopia. The Persians were followed up more than two hundred years later by their great conqueror, Alexander of Macedonia, who added Egypt to his empire in 332, and founded in that year in the westernmost reach of the Nile delta that great city which bears his name, and which has been at times the capital of Egypt. Alexander's conquest was succeeded in 323 by the rule of his general, Ptolomaeus Soter, who founded in 308 the famous Greek Monarchy of the Ptolemies over Egypt, which lasted till near the commencement of the Christian era, when it was replaced by the domination of Rome.

Subsequently the sceptre passed from Rome to Byzantium, and Egypt again became subject to Greek influence. During the Ptolemies' rule and under the Byzantine Empire the Red Sea and the coast of Somaliland were to some extent explored, and it is said that the Greeks settled on the island of Socotra. From

[1] The 'cranes' with whom the pigmies fought.

[2] Other evidence goes to show that baboons were found wild in the southern parts of Mauritania in ancient days.

these Greek explorations, coupled with Phoenician traditions, the geography of Africa was hinted at as far as the neighbourhood of Zanzibar, and even the Comoro Islands; while the great lakes forming the head waters of the Nile were first placed on the map with some possibility of this information being based not on mere guesswork, but on information transmitted by the natives to Greek traders.

Carthage fought with Rome and drew that power to North Africa. After destroying Carthage (in 146 B.C.), Rome settled in her place. She first allied herself with the Numidian and Mauritanian kings, then fought with them, and eventually annexed their countries. The name of Rome's first African colony, "Africa[1]," has since become the name of the entire continent in the speech of civilized peoples. Soon the Roman conquest spread westward from Carthage to the Atlantic coast of Morocco, eastward to Cyrene and Egypt, and southward to the very heart of the Sahara Desert in Fezzan (Phazania). Direct Roman rule however was chiefly observable in what is now the Regency of Tunis and in Egypt. Tunis for the number and magnificence of its Roman remains almost surpasses Italy. Although the Romans were constantly warring with the Berbers, still the settled portions of the country colonized by European immigrants must have been remarkably prosperous, to judge by the high degree of civilization they attained, and the vast sums they were able to spend on public works—expenditure often due to the munificence of private citizens. The Roman colonization of this part of North Africa was thus a very real one. Latin became the tongue most commonly spoken, and the settled portions of what is now the Regency of Tunis and eastern Algeria became more like Italy in their buildings, mode of life, laws, manners, customs, and religion than any portion of Algeria has yet resembled France.

[1] This word after the Arab invasion of Tunis has survived in the form of "Ifrikiah." It was almost undoubtedly a Berber word in origin, which in Latin mouths assumed the form of "Africa."

But the Romans in the interior districts seem to have made the mistake which the French have subsequently repeated of regarding North Africa with its fairly abundant native population (vigorous, warlike, and but little inferior in mind or body to the European invaders) as a colony rather than a protected state. They therefore aroused almost perpetually the hostility of the aborigines, who in their hatred of foreign rule welcomed any invader as a means of regaining their independence. Throughout 500 years of Roman rule there was scarcely a period so long as seventy years which passed without a Berber war.

We have little evidence to entitle us to believe that the Romans became well acquainted with tropical Africa beyond the Sahara Desert[1], though a certain trade must have sprung up in the hands of Hamites, who brought the products of tropical Africa across the desert to exchange with Romanized traders for the manufactures of the Mediterranean world. The Romans (in the time of Nero) pushed their explorations up the Nile valley beyond the junction of the Bahr al Ghazal and the White Nile, but were soon discouraged.

While these events were taking place in Northern Africa, and perhaps even before they began, peoples of Malay or Polynesian stock had been drifting across the Malay archipelago to Madagascar, carried thither by prevailing currents. These Malays—found purest in the modern Hovas—wrested Madagascar from the black man, whom they absorbed or exterminated,

[1] The only recorded instances of an apparent crossing of the Sahara by a Roman expedition are those cited by Marinus Tyrius (who was edited by Ptolemy the Alexandrian). Setting out from Fezzan (which the Romans had occupied in B.C. 19), a general named Septimus Flaccus is said to have reached the Black Man's country across the desert in three months' marching. This occurred about the beginning of the Christian era. A few years later Julius Maternus starting from Garama (southern Fezzan) with the king of the Garamantes reached "Agisymba" (probably Kanem or Bornu) after four months' march and found the country swarming with rhinoceroses (which still abound there).

and henceforth they remained as the dominant race, to be subdued latterly, though not perhaps to be extinguished, by one of Rome's daughters.

In the fifth century of the present era came the abrupt invasion of North Africa by the Vandals, a Gothic people supposed to be not far off in origin from the Anglo-Saxons. Roman hold over North Africa, though infinitely more complete and extensive than that of Carthage, had never succeeded during more than five centuries in completely subduing the Berbers, who still formed the bulk of the indigenous population. The independent Berbers were always ready to side with the enemies of Rome, and their adhesion made the Vandal conquest easy and rapid; just as their subsequent defection afterwards assisted the defeat of the demoralized Vandals by the Byzantine forces, after all North Africa had been ruled by Teutonic kings for seventy years.

The Byzantine Empire, recovering by degrees portions of the Western Empire, reconquered the province of Africa (modern Tunis), and to some extent dominated all the north African coast until the Muhammadan invasion.

When the first Muhammadan invasion took place in the seventh century the Berbers at first sided with the Arabs, and assisted in the defeat of the Byzantine forces, through which action they did ultimately enjoy as a race several centuries of quasi-independence.

The effect on Africa of the development of Muhammadanism was almost more marked in its results than in Asia. Prior to the Muhammadan invasions nothing was known of Africa south of the Sahara which could be described as certain knowledge. A few vague traditions and semi-fabulous stories of Negro Africa reached and satisfied Greek and Roman inquirers. But north of the tenth degree of north latitude the Arab invaders and missionaries cleared a rough path across Africa, letting in a dubious light on its geography and humanity.

In 640 Amr-bin-al-Aṣi invaded Egypt from Arabia, and he or his lieutenants pushed thence into Tripoli, and even into Fezzan. A little later (647–8), under Abdallah-bin-Abu-Sarh and Abdallah-bin-Zubeir, the Arabs invaded Tripoli, and fought with a Byzantine governor known as Gregory the Patrician (who had just before rebelled from Byzantium, and proclaimed himself Emperor of Africa, with his seat of government in central Tunisia). The battle lasted for days, but Gregory was overmastered by a ruse and killed. The Arabs pursued his defeated army into the heart of Tunisia, and even into Algeria. For a payment of 300 quintals of gold they agreed to evacuate Tunisia, but they left behind an agent or representative at Suffetula (the modern Sbeitla), which had been Gregory's capital.

In 661 the first dissenting sect of Islam arose, the Khariji. These schismatics preached the equality of all good Moslems—a kind of communism. As they were much persecuted some of the Khariji fled at this period to the coast of Tunis, and in the island of Jerba their descendants remain to this day, while their doctrines were adopted by the bulk of the Berber population of that island[1].

In 669 the Arab invasions of North Africa were resumed. Oqba-bin-Nafa overran Fezzan, and was appointed by the Omeiyad Khalif governor of "Ifrikiah" (modern Tunis). The Byzantines were defeated in several battles, and Kairwan[2] was founded as a Muhammadan capital about 673. Oqba was

[1] Jerba, usually called Meninx by the ancients, is supposed to have been the Island of Lotos Eaters of Greek mythology.

[2] The origin of the name Kairwan has been much disputed. When I visited this place I was told by an Arab that the word was the Arab name for a small bustard-like courser (a bird which the French called Poule de Kairouan), and that seeing this bird in large numbers—where it is still to be found—in the marshy plain on which the city was built the Arabs gave its name to the town. Kairwan was chosen as the site for the Muhammadan capital by the early Arab invaders because it was considered sufficiently far from the sea-coast to be beyond the reach of attack from a Byzantine fleet.

replaced for a time by Dinar Bu'l-Muhajr, who pushed his conquests as far west as Tlemsan, on the borders of modern Morocco. Oqba resumed command in 681, and advanced with his victorious army to the shore of the Atlantic Ocean, and received a somewhat friendly reception from Count Julian at Ceuta[1] (Septa).

But now the Berbers began to turn against the Arab invaders, finding them worse for rapacity than Roman or Greek. A quondam ally, the Berber prince Kuseila, united his forces with the Greek and Roman settlers, and inflicted such a severe defeat on Oqba near Biskra that he was enabled afterwards to rule in peace as king over Mauritania for five years, being accepted as ruler by the European settlers. Kuseila however was defeated and killed by another Arab invasion in 688, though these same invaders subsequently retired and suffered a defeat at the hands of the Byzantines in Barka. Queen Dihia-al-Kahina[2] succeeded her relative Kuseila. The Arab general, Hassan-bin-Numan, was successful in taking Carthage (698), but afterwards was defeated and driven out of Tunisia by Queen Kahina. Unfortunately this brave woman ordered a terrible devastation of the fertile province of Africa, so that the want of food supply might deter the Arabs from returning; and this action on her part was the first step in the deterioration of this magnificent country, now known as Tunis. She was finally defeated and slain by the Arabs under Hassan-bin-Numan in 705. Arab conquests then once more surged ahead under Musa-bin-Nusseir. The whole of Morocco was conquered except Ceuta, where they were repelled by Count Julian. To some extent also Morocco was Muhammadanized; and no doubt through all these invasions the Arabs experienced

[1] Count Julian appears to have been a Byzantine governor on the coast of Morocco, who after the Byzantine downfall to some extent attached himself to the Romanized Gothic kingdom of Spain.

[2] This is the Arab rendering of her name. Al-Kahina means "the wise woman" or "prophetess."

little difficulty in converting the Berbers to Islam, even though they might subsequently enrage them by their depredations. Before the arrival of the Arabs the Berbers in many districts had strong leanings towards Judaism[1]. Amongst the Berber chiefs converted to Muhammadanism by the invasion of Morocco was a man of great gallantry known as Tarik, who became a general in the Arab army. Tarik was left in charge of Tangiers by Musa, and entered into friendly relations with Count Julian at Ceuta. Count Julian having quarrelled with the last Gothic king of Spain urged Tarik to invade that country. After a recognizance near the modern Tarifa Tarik invaded Spain at or near Gibraltar[2] with 13,000 Berbers officered by 300 Arabs, and was shortly afterwards followed by Musa with reinforcements; and Spain was thus conquered.

For a few years longer all North Africa remained loosely connected with the Khalifs of Bagdad; then Idris, a descendant of Ali, and consequently of Muhammad, established himself in Morocco as an independent sultan, afterwards asserting his claim to be Khalif and Imam. At his death he was succeeded by his son Idris II, and his blood is supposed to have filtered down through many generations and devious ways to the present ruling family in Morocco. During the whole of the ninth century Tunis was ruled by an independent dynasty known as the Aghlabite from Aghlab, a successful soldier, who founded it. This again was succeeded by the Arab Fatimite dynasty, derived from the Fatimite Caliphate of Egypt[3]. All this time the Arab element in North Africa was extremely slight, represented by a few thousand bold, rapacious warriors,

[1] Jewish colonies began to settle in North Africa soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, or even as far back as the Ptolemaic rule over Egypt.

[2] The rocky peninsula where Tarik landed was called by the Arabs Jibl-al-Tarik, a name which subsequently became corrupted by the Spaniards into Gibraltar.

[3] This dynasty had founded Cairo (Al-Kahirah) in 969 A.D.

who had in a marvellous manner, difficult to explain, forced their religion, and to some extent their language and rule on several millions of Berbers, and on some hundreds of thousands of Romans, Greeks, Goths, and Jews. But in the eleventh century took place those Arab invasions of North Africa which have been the main source of the Arab element in the northern part of the continent, and without which Muhammadanism might have faded away, and a series of independent Berber states have been formed once more under Christian rule.

About 1045 two Arab tribes, the Beni-Hilal and the Beni-Soleim (originally from Central Arabia, and deported thence to Upper Egypt), left the right bank of the Nile to invade Barbary. They had made themselves troublesome in Upper Egypt, and the weakened rulers of that country to get rid of them had urged them to invade north-western Africa. About two or three hundred thousand crossed the desert and reached the frontiers of Tunis and Tripoli. They defeated the Berbers at the battle of Haiderān, and then settled in southern Tunis and western Tripoli. Eventually some portion of them was unseated by the Berbers and driven westward into Morocco. They were succeeded by fresh drafts from Egypt and Arabia, but many of these later invaders settled in Barka and eastern Tripoli. Later on other Arab tribes left the West coast of Arabia, and settled on the central Nile (avoiding the Abyssinian highlands, where they were kept at bay by their Christianized relatives of far earlier immigrations). From the upper Nile they directed many and repeated invasions of Central and Western Africa. To this day tribes of more or less pure Arab descent are found in the district of Lake Chad, in Darfur, Wadai, and in the western Sahara north of Senegambia.

About the same time began the real revival of the Roman Empire from the onslaught of Arabia and the prior Teutonic invasions. The cities of Italy, forming themselves into republics, were tempted by their extending commerce to interfere

with North Africa. The Venetians, in spite of the hare-brained crusades, and the damage that they did by reviving Muhammadan fanaticism, began to open up those commercial relations with Egypt, which for four and a half centuries gave them the monopoly of the Levant and Indian trade. The Normans, who had conquered the Saracens of Sicily and Malta[1], and had founded the Kingdom of Naples, commenced a series of bold attacks on the coasts of Tunis and Tripoli, which did not however lead to permanent occupation. The Pisans and Genoese began a series of sharp reprisals against the Moorish pirates, and so inspired some respect for Italy in the minds of Tunisians and Algerians. Afterwards they were enabled to open up commercial relations, especially with the north coast of Tunis, and these, to the advantage of both Italy and Barbary, continued, with fitful interruptions, until the 16th century.

In the 11th century another great Berber movement took place—the rise of the "Almoravides." The name of this sect of Muhammadan reformers is a Spanish corruption of *Al-Murabitin*, which is the plural of *Marabut*, and *Marabut* is derived from the place-name *Ribat*, meaning "the people living at Ribat," though the word has since come to mean in North Africa and elsewhere a Muhammadan saint. The Almoravides owed their origin to one of the first of the African Mahdis or Messiahs, of whom the tale has subsequently been repeated and repeated with such servile imitation of detail that one can only imagine the mass of African Muhammadans to have been without any philosophical reflections on history or any sense of humour, since Mahdi after Mahdi arises as an ascetic saint, and dies a licentious monarch, whose power passes into the hands of a lieutenant, who is the first in the

[1] Malta is said to have been colonized by the Phoenicians and to have retained Phoenician words in its dialect to the present day. Then came Greeks, Sicilians, Romans and Arabs—the last invaders leaving their tongue in Malta to be spoken to this day.

line of a slowly crumbling dynasty. Far away across the Sahara Desert, and near the Niger, was a tribe of Tawareq Berbers known as the Lamta or Lemtuna, who had been recently converted to Muhammadanism. The chief of this tribe, returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca, met a Berber of South Morocco known as Ibn Yaṣin, who on his Meccan pilgrimage had acquired a great reputation for austere holiness. The chief of the Lemtuna invited Ibn Yaṣin to his court, and the latter, after arriving in the Niger countries, established himself on an island named Ribat, on the upper Niger, where he collected adherents round him and promulgated his puritanical reforms. Gradually Ibn Yaṣin's influence extended over the whole Lamta or Lemtuna tribe, and he urged these Berbers towards the conversion of Senegambia. It was mainly through his influence that the Berbers were carried by their conquests into Senegambia and Nigeria. Then he led them north-west across the Sahara Desert and they conquered Morocco, and from thence invaded Muhammadan Spain. By this time Ibn Yaṣin, the teacher, was dead, but the warrior chief of the Lamta tribe—Yussuf-bin-Tashfin—had become sovereign of Morocco and Spain, and had assumed the title of Amir-al-Mumenin[1]. A hundred years afterwards another Berber Mahdi arose in the person of Ibn Tumert, who was "run" by Abd-al-Mumin of Tlemsan, and the programme was the same—to start with puritanical reform, afterwards degenerating rapidly into mere lust of conquest. This small sect known by us as the "Almohades" (from Al-Muāhadim or "Disciples of the Unity of God[2]") attacked the decaying power of the Almoravides. Ibn Tumert—an exact parallel of all the Mahdis—died early in the struggle, but was succeeded by the man who "ran" him, Abd-al-Mumin, as "Khalifa," who pursued his conquests until he had brought under his power all North Africa and Muhammadan Spain, and had founded the greatest Berber empire

[1] Prince of the Faithful.

[2] From the Arabic *Wahad*, "The One."

that ever existed. Concurrently, however, with the sway of his overlordship the Ziri and Hamadî dynasties of Berber sultans continued to exist at Tunis and in eastern Algeria. After ruling for a century the Almohade empire broke up, and was succeeded by independent rulers in Tunis and Tripoli, in Algeria, and in Morocco. Remarkable among these was the Hafs dynasty, which governed Tunis and part of Tripoli for 300 years, and proved the most beneficent of all Muhammadan rulers in North Africa. Abu Muhammad Hafsi was a Berber governor of Tunis under one of the last of the Almohad emperors, and eventually became the independent sovereign of Tunisia. The Almohade rulers towards the end of the 12th century had transported most of the turbulent Arabs of southern and central Tunisia to Morocco, where for the first time the Arabs began to form an appreciable element in the population. About this time Kurdish and Turkish mercenaries commenced finding employment in Tunisia and in Tripoli under chiefs who rebelled against the Almohade empire. Concurrently with the Hafs in Tunis the descendants of Abd-al-Wadi and Ibn Merin ruled in Morocco and in western Algeria. They also were Arabized Berbers. In 1270 that truly good but erratic monarch, St Louis of France, deflected a crusade intended for the Levant to Tunis, as being a Muhammadan country much nearer at hand and more accessible. He landed at Carthage, but owing to failing health his imposing invasion was followed by military inaction. He died at Carthage, and a capitulation subsequently took place by which the Crusaders retired from Tunisia. After their departure the Muhammadans entirely destroyed all that remained of Roman Carthage, as the buildings had afforded to the invaders the protection of fortresses. Up till that time a good deal of Roman civilization had lingered in Tunisia, but now the country became more and more Arabized. Christian bishops, however, continued to exist, and Christians were not much persecuted till the 16th century, when the attacks of the Spaniards, and the

intervention of the Turks roused Muhammadan fanaticism to a degree which only began to abate within the memory of the present generation.

During this time Spain, which had been once more riveted with Muhammadan fetters by that extraordinary incursion of the Berbers, was rapidly returning to Christian rule, and in the 15th century the kings of Spain and Portugal felt themselves sufficiently strong to carry the war into the enemy's country. In 1415 the Portuguese army, to which was attached Prince Henry, afterwards known as the Navigator, captured the Moorish citadel of Ceuta on the Morocco coast, and from this episode started the magnificent Portuguese discoveries initiated by Prince Henry which will be described in the next chapter. The Portuguese subsequently captured Tangier, Tetwan, and most of the ports along the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Spain, bursting out a little later, when she had conquered the last Moorish kingdom on Spanish soil (Granada), seized Melilla in 1490, and, on one pretext or another, port after port along the coasts of Algeria and Tunis, until by 1540 she had established garrisons at Oran, Bugia, Bona, Hunein, and Goletta[1]; and instigated the Knights of Malta—the outcome of the crusades—to hold for a time the town of Tripoli in Barbary, and the Tunisian island of Jerba. The Portuguese kings by the middle of the 16th century were practically suzerains of Morocco. The penultimate ruler of the brilliant House of Avis—young Dom Sebastiaõ—determined in 1578, soon after his accession to the throne of Portugal at the age of 23, to thoroughly conquer Morocco. He landed with 100,000 men at Acila[2], then marched inland and took up a position behind the Wed-al-Makhazen on the fatal field of Kasr-al-Kabîr. But he was utterly defeated by the Moors under Mulai Abd-al-Malek (who died during the battle) and Abu'l Abbas Ahmad-

[1] She also later on left traces of her temporary occupation on the island of Jerba, where a fine Spanish fortress remains intact to this day.

[2] Arzila.

al-Mansur. The latter became Sultan of Morocco after the defeat and death of the unfortunate Dom Sebastiaõ. Nevertheless, the Portuguese retained most of their fortified ports on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, and also Ceuta. During the 60 years of the abeyance of the Portuguese monarchy these places became nominally Spanish, but returned to Portugal with the restoration of the House of Bragança, though Ceuta and Melilla were subsequently ceded to Spain, and Tangier to England. Thus ended what might very well have been, but for the battle of Kasr-al-Kabīr, the Portuguese Empire of Morocco.

At the end of the 13th century, certain *sharifs*[1] of Yanbu, the coast port of the holy city of Medina in Arabia, who professed to be descendants of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, following returning Moorish pilgrims, established themselves at Sijilmassa or Tafilat in South Morocco, and one of them, Hassan-bin-Kassim, increasing greatly in power, became the founder of the present Sharifian dynasty of Morocco; though some centuries elapsed before these Sharifian sultans succeeded in establishing universal rule. At the close of the 15th century a Muhammadan Negro dynasty had arisen on the upper Niger, and in the western Sudan. One of these Negro kings, who made a pilgrimage to Mecca, obtained from the descendant of the Abbaside khalifs residing at Cairo the title of "Lieutenant of the Prince of Believers in the Sudan." He made Timbuktu[2] his capital, and it became a place of great learning and flourishing commerce. His grandson, Ishak-bin-Sokya[3], became rich and powerful, and attracted the rapacity of the Sharifian emperor of Morocco (Abu'l Abbas Mansur, who had distinguished himself by wiping out the Portuguese under Dom Sebastiaõ at the battle of Kasr-al-Kabīr), who had

[1] *Sharif*, plur. *Shorfa*, means in Arabic "nobly born."

[2] Timbuktu had been founded by a Tawareq (Berber) tribe about 1100 A.D.

[3] or Askia.

recently extended his rule across the Sahara to the oasis of Twat[1]. The Moorish emperor attempted to pick a quarrel by disputing this Negro king's right to the title of Lieutenant of the Khalifs in the Sudan, demanded his vassalage, and a tax on the Sahara salt mines along the route to Timbuktu. Ishak-bin-Sokya refused, whereupon a Moorish army under Juder Basha was despatched by Abu'l Abbas-al-Mansur in 1590 to conquer the Sudan. This army crossed the Sahara, defeated Ishak Sokya, and captured Timbuktu, but raised the siege of Gaghu or Gao, lower down the Niger, whither Ishak had fled. But a more vigorous commander, Mahmud Basha, completed the Moorish conquest of the Sudan, a conquest which extended in its effects to Bornu on the one hand and to Senegambia on the other, and only faded away in the 18th century, mainly owing to the uprise of the Fula, and the attacks of the Tawareq. Gradually all Morocco was brought under Sharifian rule, all European hold over the country was eradicated, and the reign of culminating glory was that of the emperor Mulai Ismail, who ruled for 57 years, and is said to have left living children to the extent of 548 boys and 340 girls. Mulai Ismail died in 1727. He had attained to and maintained himself in supreme power by the introduction of regiments of well-drilled Sudan Negroes. Once more, in fact, in African history the black man of the Sudan was the indirect means of driving back the civilization of Europe. Meantime, the Berber and the Arab power was weakening in Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt. The Turks, who had replaced the Arabs of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor as Muhammadan rulers, had captured Constantinople in 1453, and had seized Egypt in 1517, and were becoming the rising Muhammadan power. When the Muhammadans of North Africa appealed to Turkey for help against the attacks of the Christian Spaniards the Turks took advantage of their

[1] Now in the hinterland of Algeria, and perhaps to be occupied some day by the French.

intervention to establish, through the Turkish Corsairs, Turkish regencies in Algeria (1519), Tunis (1573), and Tripoli (1551)[1], while Egypt came directly under Turkish rule through the heterogeneous Mamluk guard, which furnished Circassian military rulers. With the exception of Morocco, which still remains to this day an independent Berber state, Turkish control replaced Arab influence in northern Africa, and extended by degrees far into the Sahara Desert to the old kingdom of Fezzan, and along the coasts of the Red Sea. "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose"—no matter whether Turk, Circassian, Albanian, Arab, Berber, or Arabized Negro ruled, Muhammadan influence and Arab culture continued to spread over all the northern half of Africa. Somaliland, Sennār, Nubia, Kordofan, Darfur, Wadai, Bornu, Hausa-land, and the Sahara, much of Senegambia, and most of the country within the bend of the Niger and along the banks of the upper Volta were converted to Muhammadanism, and became familiar with the Arab tongue as the religious language, and with some degree of Arab civilization.

The pre-Islamic settlements of southern Arabs along the East coast of Africa were revived by fresh bands of militant traders and missionaries of Islam. Arabs established themselves once more at Sofala, at Sena and Quelimane on the lower Zambezi, at Moçambique, Kilwa, Zanzibar, Mombasa, and various ports on the Somali coast. A colony of Muhammadanized Persians joined them in the 10th century at Lamu, and Persian as well as Muhammadan Indian influence began to be very apparent in architecture on the East coast of Africa.

[1] Algeria and Tunis were conquered by Turkish pirates, quite as much from the mild Berber dynasties possessing them as from the Spanish encroachments. Tripoli was taken from the Knights of Malta. Gradually all these three Regencies detached themselves from the Turkish Empire in everything but the mere acknowledgment of suzerainty; but, in 1835, the Turks abruptly resumed the direct control of Tripoli and Barka, to which they added Fezzan in 1842.

The powerful Sultanate of Kilwa was founded in the 10th century, and exercised for some time a dominating influence over the other Arab settlements on the East coast of Africa. Arabs had also discovered the island of Madagascar, which they first made clearly known to history. They had settled as traders on its north and north-west coasts, while the adjoining Comoro Islands or Islands of the "Full Moon" (Komr) became little Arab sultanates practically in the hands of Arab-ized Negroes. Until the coming of the Portuguese in the 16th century these Arab East African states were sparsely colonized by Himyaritic or south Arabian Arabs from the Hadhramaut, Yaman, and Aden. But a development of power and enterprise amongst the Arabs of Maskat, which led to their driving away the Portuguese from their own country, and subsequently attacking them on the East coast of Africa, caused the Maskat[1] Arab to become the dominant type. The Maskat Arabs founded the modern Zanzibar sultanate, which quite late in the present century was separated by the intervention of the British Government from the parent state of 'Oman.

As the result of the Muhammadan invasion of Africa from Arabia—only just brought to a close at the end of the 19th century—it may be stated that Arabized Berbers ruled in north and north-west Africa; Arabized Turks ruled in north and north-east Africa; Arabized Negroes ruled on the Niger, and in the central Sudan; Arabs ruled more directly on the Nile, and on the Nubian coast; and the Arabs of south Arabia and of 'Oman governed the East African coast, and eventually carried their influence, and to some extent their rule, inland to the great central African lakes, and even to the upper Congo.

Muhammadan colonization of Africa was the first step in the bringing of that part of the continent beyond the Sahara

[1] or 'Oman. Maskat is the capital of the principality of 'Oman (a word which is really pronounced 'Ūman) in East Arabia, ruled by an "Imam" or laicized descendant of a line of preacher-kings or "Prince Bishops."

and upper Egypt within the cognizance of the world of civilization and history. The Arabs brought with them from Syria and Mesopotamia their architecture—"Saracenic"—which was an offshoot of the Byzantine[1], with a dash of Persian or Indian influence. This architecture received at the hands of the Berbers and Egyptians an extraordinarily beautiful development, and penetrated on the one hand into Spain, and less directly into Italy, and on the other reached the lower Niger, the upper Nile, the vicinity of the Zambezi, and the north coast of Madagascar. They spread also certain ideas of Greek medicine and philosophy and taught the Koran, which admitted all those Berber and Negro populations into that circle of civilized nations which has founded so much of its hopes and philosophy and culture on the Semitic Scriptures. And through their contact with Europeans, Arabs and Arabized Berbers first sketched out with some approach to correctness the geography of inner Africa, and of the African coasts and islands. The direct and immediate result of this Muhammadan conquest of Africa was the drawing into that continent of the Portuguese, themselves but recently emancipated from Muhammadan rule, and still retaining some conversance with Arabic; who, thanks to their intimate acquaintance with Muhammadans, and with this far-spread language used in their commerce and religion, were now able to take a step further in the colonization of Africa by superior races.

[1] The architectural style known as Saracenic made its beginnings in Inner Syria and Mesopotamia a century or nearly so before the Muhammadan invasion; and the "Horseshoe Arch" or the arch prolonged for more than half a circle was invented by Hellenized Syrians in the sixth century of this era. The 'Mahrab' of the Mosque and some of the doming were added by the Arabs and actually descend from the symbols of phallic worship.

MUHAMMADAN AFRICA



Sir H.H. Johnston K.C.B. del.

Bartholomew, Edin.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

Indicates approximate area over which Islam is the dominating religion at the present day
(N.B. The present area is larger than it has ever been in the past)

Dotted spots of colour illustrates sporadic establishments of Muhammadanism
The Boundaries of most important Muhammadan Empires when at their greatest extent are shown in coloured lines

CHAPTER II.

THE PORTUGUESE IN AFRICA.

THE mother of Portugal was Galicia, that north-western province of the present Kingdom of Spain. It was here at any rate that the Portuguese language developed from a dialect of provincial Latin, and hence that the first expeditions started to drive the Moors out of that territory which subsequently became the Kingdom of Portugal. A large element in the populations of Galicia and of the northern parts of Portugal was Gothic. The Suevi settled here in considerable numbers, and their descendants at the present day show the fine tall figures, flaxen or red hair, and blue eyes so characteristic of the northern Teuton. Central Portugal is mainly of Latinized Iberian stock, while southern Portugal retains to this day a large element of Moorish blood. The northern part of Portugal was first wrested from the Moors by a French adventurer (Henry of Burgundy) in the service of the king of Leon, and this man's son became the first king of Portugal. Little by little the Moors were driven southward, till at last the southernmost province of Algarve[1] was conquered, and at the close of the 12th century the Moors had ceased to rule any longer in the Roman Lusitania.

[1] From the Arabic *Al-gharb*, the 'west,' the 'sunset.' The title of the King of Portugal is "King of Portugal and the Algarves, on this side and on the other side of the sea in Africa, etc."

But the Portuguese, like the Spaniards, not content with ridding the Peninsula of the Moorish invaders, attempted to carry the war into the enemy's country, urged thereto by the irritating attacks of Moorish pirates. In 1415, as already related, a Portuguese army landed on the coast of Morocco, and captured the citadel of Ceuta—the Roman Septa.

Bit by bit the Portuguese continued conquering the coast towns of Morocco, or building new settlements—till in the second half of the 16th century the king of Portugal was almost entitled to that claim over the Empire of Morocco which still asserts itself in the formal setting-forth of his dignities. Most of these posts were either abandoned some years before or just after the defeat of the young king "Sebastiaõ o Desejado"—Sebastian the desired—who at the age of only 23 was defeated and slain by the founder of the Sharifian dynasty of Morocco on the fatal field of Al Kasr-al-Kabīr in 1578. Ceuta was taken over by Spain in 1580, was garrisoned, that is, by Spanish soldiers[1]: the two or three other Morocco towns which remained in Portuguese hands after the battle of Kasr-al-Kabīr, being garrisoned by Portuguese soldiers, reverted to the separated crown of Portugal in 1640. Of these Tangier was ceded to England in 1662, Saffi was given up to the Moors in 1641, other points were snatched by the Moors in 1689, and Mazagan was finally lost in 1770.

The second son of the king Dom Joaõ I (who reigned from 1385 to 1433) and Philippa, daughter of the English John of Gaunt, was named Henry (Henrique), and was subsequently known to all time as "Henry the Navigator" from the interest he took in maritime exploration. He was present at the siege of Ceuta in 1415, and after its capture was said to have inquired with much interest as to the condition of Morocco and of the unknown African interior, and to have heard from the Moors of Timbuktu.

[1] And was finally ceded to Spain by Portugal in 1668.

On his return to Portugal he established himself on the rocky promontory of Sagres, and devoted himself to the encouragement of the exploration of the coasts of Africa. Under his direction expedition after expedition set out. First Cape Bojador to the south of the Morocco coast was doubled by Gil Eannes in 1434[1]. In 1441–2 Antonio Gonsalvez and Nuno Tristam passed Cape Blanco on the Sahara coast, and reached the Rio d'Ouro or River of Gold[2], from whence they brought back some gold dust and ten slaves. These slaves having been sent by Prince Henry to Pope Martin V, the latter conferred upon Portugal the right of possession and sovereignty over all countries that might be discovered between Cape Blanco and India. In 1445 a Portuguese named Joaõ Fernandez made the first over-land exploration, starting alone from the mouth of the Rio d'Ouro, and travelling over seven months in the interior. In the following year the river Senegal was reached, and Cape Verde was doubled by Diniz Diaz, and in 1448 the coast was explored as far as Sierra Leone. In 1455–6 Cadamosto (a Venetian in Portuguese service) discovered the Cape Verde Islands, and visited the rivers Senegal and Gambia, bringing back much information in regard to Timbuktu, the trade in gold and ivory with the coast, and the over-land trade routes from the Niger to the Mediterranean. It is asserted by the Portuguese that some years later two Portuguese envoys actually reached Timbuktu; but the truth of this assertion is somewhat problematical, as had they done so they would probably have dissipated to some extent the excessive exaggerations regarding the wealth and importance of that Negro capital. In 1462, two years after the death of Prince Henry, Pedro Da Cintra explored the coast as far as modern Liberia. By 1471 the whole Guinea coast had

[1] Though it had been known to Italian and Norman navigators a century earlier.

[2] Only an inlet in the Desert coast.

been followed past the Niger delta, and as far south as the Ogowe.

In 1448, under Prince Henry's directions, a fort had been built on the Bay of Arguin, to the south of Cape Blanco, and a few years later a Portuguese company was formed for carrying on a trade with the Guinea coast in slaves and gold. The first expedition sent out by this company resulted in the despatch of 200 Negro slaves to Portugal, and thenceforward the slave trade grew and prospered, and at first resulted in little or no misery for the slaves, who exchanged a hunted, hand-to-mouth existence among savage tribes in Africa for relatively kind treatment and comfortable living in beautiful Portugal, where they were much in favour as house servants. In 1481 the Portuguese, who had been for some years examining the Gold Coast, decided to build a fort to protect their trade there. In 1482 the fort was completed and the Portuguese flag raised in token of sovereignty. This strong place, for more than a hundred years in possession of the Portuguese, was called Saõ Jorge da Mina[1]. In the same year in which this first Portuguese post was established on the Gold Coast[2], exploration of the African coast was carried on beyond the mouth of the Ogowe by Diogo Cam, who three years later —in 1485, discovered the mouth of the Congo, and sailed up that river about as far as Boma. Diogo Cam's discoveries were continued by Bartolomeu Diaz, who, passing along the south-west coast of Africa, rounded the Cape of Good Hope in stormy weather without knowing it, and touched land at Algoa Bay, whence, on his return journey, he sighted that famous cape, which King John II christened "the Cape of Good Hope."

[1] Nowadays known as Elmina.

[2] As will be seen in another chapter, there are traditions of Norman merchants from Dieppe having established forts or trading stations along the West African coast in the 13th century, especially at "La Mine d'Or"—Elmina—where the Normans possibly preceded the Portuguese.

Already the Portuguese were full of the idea of rounding Africa and so reaching India. They had begun to hear from the Arabs, who were now in full possession of the East African coast, rumours of the circumnavigability of Africa[1]. A Portuguese named Pero de Covilhaõ started for Egypt in 1486, and travelled to India by way of the Red Sea. On his return he visited most of the Arab settlements on the East coast of Africa as far south as Sofala. The information he brought back decided the despatch of an expedition under Vasco da Gama to pass round the Cape of Good Hope to the Arab colonies, and thence to India. Vasco da Gama set out in 1497, and made his famous voyage round the Cape (calling at and naming Natal on the way) to Sofala, where he picked up an Arab pilot who took him to Malindi, and thence to India. On his return journey Vasco da Gama took possession of the island of Moçambique, and visited the Quelimane river near the mouth of the Zambezi. Numerous well-equipped expeditions sailed for India within the years following Vasco da Gama's discoveries. While India was the main goal before the eyes of their commanders, considerable attention was bestowed upon the founding of forts along the East coast of Africa, both to protect the Cape route to India, and to further Portuguese trade with the interior of Africa. In nearly every case the Portuguese merely supplanted the Arabs, who—possibly themselves supplanting Phoenicians or Sabaeans—had established themselves at Sofala, Quelimane, Sena (on the Zambezi), Moçambique, Kilwa, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu, and Magdishu. Sofala was taken by Pedro de Anhaya in 1505; Tristan d'Acunha captured Socotra and Lamu in 1507, in which year also Duarte de Mello captured and fortified Moçambique. Kilwa and the surrounding Arab establishments were seized between 1506 and 1508, and a little later

[1] It was even alleged that certain Arab ships had been driven by stress of weather past the Cape of Good Hope, and had brought back word of the northward trend of the west coast.

the remaining places already mentioned on the East coast of Africa were in possession of the Portuguese, who had also Aden on the south coast of Arabia, the island of Ormuz on the Persian Gulf, and various places on the coast of 'Oman, including Maskat. Pero de Covilhaõ had already, as has been mentioned, visited the East coast of Africa (after travelling overland to India) before Vasco da Gama's rounding of the Cape. He then directed his steps to Abyssinia, of which he had heard when in Cairo.

Before this period of the world's history, and from the time of the earlier crusades, a legend had grown of the existence of Prester John—some Christian monarch of the name of John, who ruled in the heart of Asia or of Africa, a bright spot in the midst of Heathenry. The court of Prester John was located anywhere between Senegambia and China; but the legend had its origin probably in the continued existence of Greek Christianity in Abyssinia, and towards Abyssinia several Portuguese explorers and missionaries directed their steps from the time of Pero or Pedro de Covilhaõ until the 17th century. Some Portuguese Jesuit missionaries penetrated far south of Abyssinia into countries which have only been since revisited by Europeans within the last few years. Portuguese civilization distinctly left its mark on Abyssinia in architecture and in other ways. The very name which we apply to this modern Ethiopia is a Portuguese rendering of the Arab and Indian cant term for 'negro'—*Habesh*—a word of uncertain origin.

About this time, also, the Portuguese visited the coasts of Madagascar, as will be related in the chapter dealing with that island. They also discovered (in 1507) the islands now known by the names of Réunion and Mauritius, though they made no permanent settlements on either.

On the West coast of Africa geographical discovery was soon followed by something like colonization. The island of Madeira, which had been known to the Portuguese in the 14th century, was occupied by them in the 15th, and a

hundred years afterwards was already producing a supply of that wine which has made it so justly famous[1]. The island of St Helena—afterwards to be seized by the Dutch and taken from them by the English East India Company—was discovered by the Portuguese in 1502, and this island also, at the end of a century of intermittent use by the Portuguese, possessed orange groves and fig trees which they had planted.

When Diego Cam returned from the Congo in 1485 he brought back with him a few Congo natives, who were baptized, and who returned some years later to the Congo with Diego Cam and a large number of proselytizing priests. This Portuguese expedition arrived at the mouth of the Congo in 1491 and there encountered a vassal chief of the king of the Congo who ruled the riverain province of Sonyo. This chief received them with a respect due to demi-gods, and allowed himself to be at once converted to Christianity—a conversion which was sincere and durable. The Portuguese proceeded under his guidance to the king's capital about 200 miles from the coast, which they named Saõ Salvador. Here the king and queen were baptized with the names of the then king and queen of Portugal, Joaõ and Leonora, while the crown Prince was called Affonso. Christianity made surprising progress amongst these fetish worshippers, who readily transferred their adoration to the Virgin Mary and the saints, and discarded their indigenous male and female gods. Early in the 16th century the Congo kingdom was visited by the Bishop of Saõ Thomé, an island off the Guinea coast, which, together with the adjoining Prince's Island, had been settled by the Portuguese soon after their discovery of the West coast of Africa. The Bishop of Saõ

[1] The Canary Islands, inhabited by a race of Berber origin, had been rediscovered (for Greek and Roman geographers knew of them) by Normans and Genoese in the 14th century. They were conquered by a Norman adventurer, Jean de Betancourt or Bethencourt, in the service of Portugal. Portugal, however, after a brief occupancy transferred them to Castile in 1479.

Thomé being unable to take up his residence in the kingdom of Congo procured the consecration of a native Negro as Bishop of the Congo. This man, who was a member of the Congo royal family, had been educated in Lisbon, and was, I believe, the first Negro bishop known to history. But he was not a great success, nor was the next bishop, in whose reign in the middle of the 16th century great dissensions arose in the Congo church among the native priesthood, which led to a considerable lessening of Christian fervour. After the death of Dom Diego a civil war broke out, and one by one the males of the royal house were all killed except "Dom Henrique," the king's brother. This latter also died soon after succeeding to the throne, and left the state to his son, "Dom Alvares." During this civil war many of the Portuguese whom the kings of Congo had invited to settle in the country as teachers, mechanics, and craftsmen were killed or expelled as the cause of the troubles which European intervention had brought on the Congo kingdom; but Dom Alvares, who was an enlightened man, gathered together all that remained, and for a time Portuguese civilization continued to advance over the country. But a great stumbling-block had arisen in the way of Christianity being accepted by the bulk of the people—that stumbling-block which is still discussed at every Missionary conference—polygamy. A relation of the king Dom Alvares renounced Christianity and headed a reactionary party. Curiously enough he has been handed down to history as *Bula Matadi*, "the Breaker of Stones," the name which more than three hundred years afterwards was applied to the explorer Stanley by the Congo peoples, and has since become the native name for the whole of the government of the Congo Free State.

In the middle of the 16th century Portuguese influence over the Congo received a deadly blow. That kingdom, which must be taken to include the coast lands on either side of the lower Congo, was invaded by a savage tribe from the interior

known as the "Jagga" people, said to be a race related to the Fans[1]. The Jagga were powerful men and ferocious cannibals, and they carried all before them, the king and his court taking refuge on an island on the broad Congo, not far from Boma. The king of Congo appealed to Portugal for help, and that ill-fated but brilliant young monarch, Dom Sebastiaõ, sent him Franciso de Gova with 600 soldiers. With the aid of these Portuguese and their guns the Jagga were driven out. The king, who had hitherto led a very irregular life for a Christian, now formally married, but was not rewarded by a legal heir, and had to indicate as his successor a natural son by a concubine. About this time the king of Portugal pressed his brother of Congo to reveal the existence of mines of precious metals. Whether there are such in the Congo country—except as regards copper—has not been made known even at the present day, but they were supposed to exist at that time; and certain Portuguese at the Congo court dissuaded the prince whom they served from giving any information on the subject, no doubt desiring to keep such knowledge to themselves. The king of Congo, Dom Alvares, when the Jagga had retired, made repeated appeals for more Portuguese priests, and sent several embassies to Portugal; but Dom Sebastiaõ had been killed in Morocco, and his uncle, the Cardinal Henrique, who had succeeded him and who was the last Portuguese king of the House of Avis, was too much occupied by the affairs of his tottering kingdom to reply to these appeals. But when Philip II of Spain had seized the throne of Portugal he despatched a Portuguese named Duarte Lopes to report on the country of the Congo. After spending some time in Congo-land Duarte Lopes started to return to Portugal with a great amount of information about the country, and messages from the king of Congo. Unfortunately he was driven by storms to

[1] Possibly a more purely Bantu tribe. Their descendants seem still to be found living on the river Kwango behind Angola under the name of Yaka.

Central America, and when he reached Spain the king was too busy preparing the Great Armada to listen to him. Therefore Duarte went on a pilgrimage to Rome to appeal to the Pope, but the latter for some reason gave him no encouragement. Whilst staying in Italy, however, he allowed an Italian named Filippo Pigafetta to take down and publish in 1591 his account of the Congo kingdom, together with a recital of the Portuguese explorations and conquests in East Africa.

Although Portuguese priests—Jesuits probably—continued for a hundred years longer to visit the kingdom of Congo, from the end of the 16th century both Christian and Portuguese influence slowly faded, and the country relapsed into heathenism. The Portuguese appear to have excited the animosity of a somewhat proud people by their overbearing demeanour and rapacity. They held intermittently Kabinda, on the coast to the north of the Congo estuary, and occasionally sent missions of investiture to Saõ Salvador to represent the king of Portugal at the crowning of some new king of Congo; and the king of Congo was usually given a Portuguese name and occasionally an honorary rank in the Portuguese army. But it was not until the end of the present century that Portugal actually asserted her dominion over the Congo countries. England had during the last and nearly all the present century steadily refused to recognize Portuguese rule anywhere north of the Congo, but in 1884 proposed to do so under sufficient guarantees for freedom of trade set forth in a treaty which was rendered abortive by the opposition of the House of Commons. If this treaty had been ratified it would have brought under joint English and Portuguese influence the lower Congo, besides settling amicably Portuguese and British claims in Nyasaland. The foolish and unreasoning opposition of a knot of unpractical philanthropists in the House of Commons wrecked the treaty, and gave to the other powers of Europe an opportunity for interfering in the affairs of the Congo. The result to Portugal, nevertheless, was that she secured the

territory of Kabinda north of the Congo, and the ancient kingdom of Congo south of that river.

Although the Portuguese discovered the coast of Angola in 1490 they did not attempt to settle in that country until 1574, when, in answer to an appeal of the chief of Angola (a vassal of the king of Congo), an expedition was sent thither under the command of Paulo Diaz[1]. This expedition landed at the mouth of the Kwanza river, and found that the chief of Angola who had appealed to the king of Portugal was dead. His successor received Diaz with politeness, but compelled him to assist the Angolese in local wars which had not much interest for the Portuguese. Diaz found in the interior of Angola many evidences of Christian worship, which showed that missionaries from the Congo had preceded his own expedition. When Diaz was at last allowed to return to Portugal, the king —Dom Sebastiaõ—sent him back as "Conqueror, Colonizer, and Governor of Angola" with seven ships and 700 men. His passage out from Lisbon in the year 1574 occupied three and a half months—not a long time at that period for sailing-vessels. Diaz took possession of a sandy island in front of the bay which is now known as the harbour of Saõ Paulo de Loanda. Here he was joined by 40 Portuguese refugees from the Congo kingdom. Eventually he built on the mainland of Loanda the fort of Saõ Miguel, and founded the city of Saõ Paulo, which became and remains the capital of the Portuguese possessions in West Africa.

For six years perfect peace subsisted between the Portuguese and the natives; then, afraid that the Portuguese would eventually seize the whole country, the king of Angola enticed 500 Portuguese soldiers into a war in the interior where he massacred them. But this massacre only served to show the splendid quality of Paulo Diaz, who was a magnificent representative of the old Portuguese type of Conquistador. Leaving

[1] Grandson of the explorer, Bartolomeu.

Loanda with 150 soldiers—nearly all that remained—he marched against the king's forces near the Kwanza river, and routed them with great loss, being of course greatly helped in securing this victory by the possession of muskets and cannon. The Angolese were defeated repeatedly before they gave up the struggle; but at length in 1597 the Portuguese had established themselves strongly on both banks of the river Kwanza. In that year 200 Flemish colonists were sent out by the king of Spain and Portugal. In a very short time all were dead from fever. In spite of many reverses, however, the Portuguese slowly mastered the country south of the Kwanza nearly as far as Benguela. In 1606 an interesting but unsuccessful attempt was made to open up communication across south-central Africa between the Kwanza and the Zambezi settlements. But this bold step had been preceded nearly a century earlier by the despatch of an explorer—Gregorio de Quadra—to travel overland from the mouth of the Congo to Abyssinia. The unfortunate man was never heard of again; but what a subject for romance! If this hardy Portuguese penetrated far into the upper Congo countries what extraordinary experiences he must have had in these lands, at that time absolutely free from the influence of the European—a condition which no longer applied to the natives of Darkest Africa when Stanley first made known the geography of those regions. For in the three and a half centuries which had elapsed, even those savages in the heart of Africa, who possibly knew nothing of the existence of white men, had nevertheless adopted many of the white man's products as necessities or luxuries of their lives—such as maize, tobacco, yams, sweet potatoes, manioc, the pine-apple, and the sugar cane.

We may here fitly consider the greatest and most beneficial results of the Portuguese colonization of Africa. These wonderful old Conquistadores may have been relentless and cruel in imposing their rule on the African and in enslaving him or in Christianizing him, but they added enormously to

his food-supply and his comfort. So early in the history of their African exploration that it is almost the first step they took, they brought from China, India, and Malacca the orange tree, the lemon and the lime, which, besides introducing into Europe (and Europe had hitherto only known the sour wild orange brought by the Arabs), they planted in every part of East and West Africa where they touched. They likewise brought the sugar cane from the East Indies and introduced it into various parts of Brazil and West Africa, especially into the islands of Saõ Thomé and Principe and the Congo and Angola countries. Madeira they had planted with vines in the 15th century; the Açores, the Cape Verde Islands and St Helena with orange trees in the 16th century. From their great possession of Brazil—overrun and organized with astounding rapidity—they brought to East and West Africa the Muscovy duck (which has penetrated far into the interior of Africa, if indeed it has not crossed the continent), chili peppers, maize (now grown all over Africa, cultivated by many natives who have not even yet heard of the existence of white men), tobacco, the tomato, yam, pine-apple, sweet potato (a convolvulus tuber), manioc (from which tapioca is made), ginger and other less widely known forms of vegetable food. The Portuguese also introduced the domestic pig into Africa, and on the West coast, the domestic cat, possibly also certain breeds of dogs; in East tropical Africa the horse is known in the north by an Arab name, in the centre by the Portuguese word, and in the extreme south by a corruption of the English. To the Arabs also must be given the credit (so far as we know) of having introduced into Africa from Asia the sugar cane, rice[1], onions, cucumbers, here and there the lime and orange, wheat and perhaps other grains[2]; among domestic animals, the camel, in

[1] Rice and sugar cane were in some cases brought by the Portuguese.

[2] Such wheat as is cultivated in Africa north of 15° N. Latitude is similar to the European and Egyptian kinds: the wheat introduced by the Arabs into the Zambezi is red wheat apparently from India.

some parts the horse, and in a few places superior breeds of domestic fowls and also the domestic pigeon[1]. The Englishman has brought with him the potato, and has introduced into most of his colonies the horse, and in places improved breeds of cattle, sheep, and goats, a good many European vegetables and fruit trees; the tea plant, the coffee plant (which, however, has only been transferred from other parts of Africa), and many shrubs and trees of special economic value; but what are these introductions—almost entirely for his own use—compared in value to the vast bounty of Portugal? Take away from the African's dietary of to-day a few of the products that the Portuguese brought to him from the far East and far West, and he will remain very insufficiently provided with necessities and simple luxuries. I may add one or two dates concerning these introductions by the Portuguese:—the sugar cane and ginger were first planted in the island of Principe, off the coast of Lower Guinea in the early part of the 16th century. Maize was introduced into the Congo (where it was called *maza manputo*) about the middle of the 16th century[2].

[1] Which however is a wild bird (the rock dove) in N. Africa.

[2] De Lopes, who records this fact in his description of the Congo region at the end of the 16th century, gives incidentally or directly other interesting scraps of information, such as, that the coco-nut palm was *found* by the Portuguese growing on the West coast of Africa. This palm, we know, originated in the Asiatic or Pacific Archipelagoes. It is possible to imagine that its nuts may have been carried over the sea to the coast of East Africa and that it was thus introduced to that side of the continent; but, inasmuch as the coco-nut palm cannot grow further south than Delagoa Bay owing to the cooling of the climate, it is not very clear how it reached the tropical West African coast. I believe it was introduced on the tropical Atlantic coast of America by Europeans. De Lopes mentions the banana for the first time under the name "banana," which he applies to it as though it were a Congo or African word. Hitherto this fruit had only been known vaguely to Europe by its Arab name, which was latinized into *Musa*. Lopes states that the zebra was tamed and ridden by the natives. He must be referring to the zebra of southern Angola, as any form of wild ass has probably always been entirely absent from the forest countries near the Congo.

In 1621 a chieftainess, apparently of the Congo royal family, known as Ginga Bandi, came to Angola, made friends with the Portuguese, was baptized, and then returned to the interior, where she poisoned her brother (the chief or king of Angola), and succeeded him. Having attained this object of her ambitions, she headed the national party, and attempted to drive the Portuguese out of Angola. For 30 years she warred against them without seriously shaking their power, though on the other hand they could do little more than hold their own. But a much more serious enemy now appeared on the scene. The Dutch, who took advantage of the Spanish usurpation[1] of the throne of Portugal to include that unfortunate country in their reprisals against Spain, made several determined attempts during the first half of the 17th century to wrest Angola from the Portuguese. They captured Saõ Paulo de Loanda in 1641, one year after Portugal had recovered her independence under the first Bragança king. The Portuguese concentrated on the Kwanza. The Dutch attempted by several very treacherous actions to oust them from their fortresses on that river. At last, however, following on the reorganization of the Portuguese empire, reinforcements were sent from Brazil to Angola, and a siege of Saõ Miguel took place. The Portuguese imitated with advantage the Dutch game of bluff, and by deceiving the besieged as to the extent of their army they secured the surrender of 1100 Dutch to under 750 Portuguese. In the preliminary assault on the Dutch at Saõ Paulo de Loanda the Portuguese lost 163 men. After the recapture of this place they proceeded methodically to destroy all the Dutch establishments on the Lower Guinea coast as far north as Loango. In the concluding years of the 17th century nearly all the remaining Portuguese missionaries in the kingdom of Congo

[1] Perhaps "usurpation" is harsh. Philip II of Spain had the best claim to the Portuguese throne after the death without heirs of the Cardinal-King Henrique. But the Portuguese disliked union with Spain and would have preferred to elect a Portuguese king.

migrated to the more settled and prosperous Angola. In 1694 Portugal introduced a copper coinage into her now flourishing West African colony—flourishing, thanks to the slave trade, which was mightily influencing the European settlement of West Africa.

In 1758 the Portuguese extended their rule northwards from Saõ Paulo de Loanda into the Ambriz country, where however their authority continued very uncertain till within a few years ago. About the same time Benguela was definitely occupied, and Portuguese influence continued extending slowly southward until, in 1840, it reached its present limits by the establishment of a settlement (now very prosperous) called Mossamedes, almost exactly on the fifteenth parallel of south latitude[1].

Between 1807 and 1810 attempts were made to open up intercourse with the kingdom of the Mwato Yanvo, and thence across to the colony of Moçambique, but they proved unsuccessful. In 1813 and in the succeeding years a renewed vigour of colonization began to make itself felt in the creation of public works in Angola. Amongst other improvements was the bringing of the waters of the Kwanza by canal to Saõ Paulo de Loanda, which until then had no supply of good drinking water. The Dutch had attempted to carry out this, but were interrupted. The Portuguese efforts in the early part of this century proved unsuccessful, but some ten years ago the canal was at last completed, and it has made a great difference to the health of the town. Portuguese rule inland from Angola has waxed and waned during the present century, but on the whole has been greatly extended. Livingstone even found them established to some extent on the upper Kwango, an affluent of the Congo, and for long the eastern boundary of Angola. From this, however, they had to retire owing to native insurrections; though now their power and their influence have been pushed far to the east, to the river Kasai.

[1] This place was named after the Baron de Mossamedes, a Portuguese Governor of Angola; afterwards Minister for the Colonies.

In 1875 a party of recalcitrant Boers quitted the Transvaal owing to some quarrel with the local government, trekked over the desert in a north-westerly direction, and eventually blundered across the Kunene river (the southern limit of Portuguese West Africa) on to the healthy plateau behind the Chella Mountains. It was feared at one time that they would set the Portuguese at defiance and carve out a little Boer state in south-west Africa. About this time, also, Hottentots much under Boer influence and speaking Dutch invaded the district of Mossamedes from the coast region; but by liberal concessions and astute diplomacy, joined with the carrying out of several important works, like the waggon road across the Shela (or Chella) Mountains, the Portuguese won over the Boers to a recognition of their sovereignty, and they have ever since become a source of strength to the Portuguese. Slavery was not abolished in the Portuguese West African dominions until 1878; but the slave trade had been done away with in the first quarter of the 19th century. Prior to that time the slave trade had brought extraordinary prosperity to the islands of Saõ Thomé and Principe, to the Portuguese fort on the coast of Dahome, and to Angola, all of which countries were more or less under one government. The abolition of the slave trade however caused the absolute ruin of Principe (which has not yet recovered), the temporary ruin of Saõ Thomé (since revived by the energy of certain planters, who have introduced the cultivation of chinchona), and the partial ruin of Angola, which began to be regarded as a possession scarcely worth maintaining. Brazil (though it had been severed from the crown of Portugal) did almost more than the Mother Country to revive trade in these dominions. Enterprising Brazilians such as Silva Americano came over to Angola in the '60's' and '70's,' started steam navigation on the river Kwanza, and developed many industries. Through Brazilian, United States, and British influence a railway was commenced in the '80's' to connect Saõ Paulo de Loanda with the rich

interior, especially with the coffee districts on the water-shed of the Congo. The magnificent island of Saõ Thomé, just under the Equator, possesses mountains which rise high into a temperate climate. On these, flourishing plantations of cinchona and coffee have been established. Public works in the shape of good roads and bridges have been carried out in many parts of Angola, and this country is certainly the most successful of the Portuguese attempts at the colonization of Africa.

Portuguese rule has been extended northwards to the southern shore of the Congo, and over the small territory of Kabinda, which is separated by a narrow strip of Belgian territory from the other bank. On the other hand the Portuguese protectorate over Dahome—a protectorate which never had any real existence—has been abandoned together with its only foothold, Saõ Joaõ d'Ajuda[1]. The Portuguese forts on the Gold Coast had not been held very long before they were captured by the Dutch at the beginning of the 17th century. Portugal, in spite of discovering and naming Sierra Leone, never occupied it; but in varying degree she continued to maintain certain fortified posts amid that extraordinary jumble of rivers in Senegambia, between the Gambia and Sierra Leone. This is a district of some 20,000 square miles in extent, to-day carefully defined, and known as Portuguese Guinea. But in the '70's' it was doubtful whether Portuguese sovereignty over this country had not been abandoned. England, which exercised exclusive influence in these waters, attempted to establish herself in the place of Portugal, but the Portuguese protested

[1] This fort, by the abortive Congo Treaty of 1884, was to have been made over to England, the result of which would have been the prevention of a French protectorate over Dahome. Although the Portuguese never in any sense ruled over or controlled Dahome, their indirect influence and their language were prominent at the Dahomean court because certain Brazilians had during the first half of this century established themselves on the coast and in the interior as influential merchants and slave traders. Their coffee-coloured descendants now form a Portuguese-speaking Brazilian caste in Dahome.

and proclaimed their sovereignty. The matter was submitted to arbitration, and the verdict—of course—was given against England. Consequently the Portuguese reorganized their colony of Guinea, which in time was separated from the governorship of the Cape Verde islands. These latter are a very important Portuguese asset off the north-west coast of Africa. They have been continuously occupied and administered since their discovery in the 15th century. They possessed then no population, but are now peopled by a blackish race descended from Negro and Moorish slaves. In one or two of the healthier islands are settlers of Portuguese blood. Owing to the magnificent harbours which these islands offer to shipping —especially Saõ Vicente—and their use as a coaling station, they may yet figure prominently in the world's history.

Both Ascension and St Helena were discovered and named by the Portuguese. The first-named was never occupied until England took possession of it as an outpost of Napoleon's prison in 1815. St Helena was taken in the early part of the 16th century by the Dutch, and passed into the hands of the English in the middle of that century. Another Portuguese discovery was the most southern of these isolated oceanic islets, Tristan d'Acunha, which bears the name of its discoverer, but which, so far as occupation goes, has always been a British possession[1].

On the East coast of Africa Portuguese colonization did not commence until the 16th century had begun, and Vasco de Gama, after rounding the Cape, had revealed the

[1] Most prominent features, and some countries on the west and south coasts of Africa from the Senegal round to the Cape of Good Hope and Moçambique, bear Portuguese names: Cape *Verde* is "The Green Cape," Sierra Leone (*Serra Leoa*) is "The Lioness Mountain," Cape *Palmas* "The Palm-trees Cape," Cape Coast is *Cabo Corso* "The cruising Cape," *Lagos* is "The Lakes," Cameroons is *Camarões* "prawns," Gaboon is *Gabaõ* "The Hooded Cloak" (from the shape of the estuary), *Corisco* is "Lightning," Cape *Frio* is "The Cold Cape" and *Angra Pequena* is "The Little Cove," and so on.

existence of old Arab trading settlements and sultanates between Sofala and Somaliland.

The need of ports of call on the long voyage to India caused the Portuguese to decide soon after Vasco de Gama's famous voyage to possess themselves of these Arab settlements, the more so because hostilities against the "Moors" were a never-ending *vendetta* on the part of Spaniard or Portuguese, while the conquest was at that date an easy one, as the Portuguese had artillery and the East African Arabs had none.

By 1520, the Portuguese had ousted the Arabs and had occupied in their stead Kilwa, Zanzibar, Pemba, Mombasa, Lamu, Malindi, Brava (Barawa), and Magdishu (Magadoxo): all north of the Ruvuma river. South of that river they had taken Sofala and Moçambique. Here they had—it is said—established a trading station in 1503, but Moçambique island[1] was not finally occupied by them till 1507, when the existing fortress was commenced and built by Duarte de Mello. The fort was then and is still known as "the Praça de Saõ Sebastiaõ." It had been decided before this that Moçambique should be the principal place of call, after leaving the Cape of Good Hope, for Portuguese ships on their way to India; but when in 1505 the Portuguese deliberately sanctioned the idea of a Portuguese East African colony they turned their attention rather to Sofala as its centre than to Moçambique. Sofala, which is near the modern Beira, was an old Arab port and sultanate, and had been for some 1500 years the principal port on the south-east coast of Africa, from which the gold obtained

[1] This is a little coral islet about 2 miles long by ¼ of a mile broad, situated between 2 and 3 miles from the coast [a shallow bay], in 15 degrees south latitude, where the East African coast approaches nearest to Madagascar. It commands the Moçambique Channel. Its native name was probably originally Musambiki. By the neighbouring East African tribes it is now called Muhibidi, Msambiji, and Msambiki. It has sometimes been the only parcel of land remaining in Portuguese hands during the vicissitudes of their East African empire.

in the mines of Manika was shipped to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Consequently the first proposed Portuguese settlement on the East coast of Africa was entitled "the Captaincy of Sofala." But later on Moçambique grew in importance, and eventually gave its name to the Portuguese possessions in East Africa.

The Quelimane river, taken to be the principal exit of the Zambezi by the Portuguese, was discovered and entered by Vasco de Gama in the early part of 1498, and was by him called the "River of Good Indications." He stayed a month on this river, where there seems to have been, on the site of the present town of Quelimane, a trading station resorted to by the Arabs, who were even then settled in Zambezia. The name Quelimane (pronounced in English Kelimane) is stated by the early Portuguese to have been the name of the friendly chief who acted as intermediary between them and the natives, but it would rather appear to have been a corruption of the Swahili-Arabic word "Kaliman," which means "interpreter."

The first "Factory" or Portuguese trading station at Quelimane was established about the year 1544, and by this time the Portuguese had heard of the River of Sena (as they called the Zambezi) and of the large Arab settlement of Sena on its banks. They had further heard both from Quelimane and from Sofala of the powerful empire of Monomotapa[1], and especially of the province of Manika, which was reported to be full of gold. Having found it too difficult to reach Manika from Sofala, owing to the opposition of the natives, they resolved to enter the country from the north by way of Sena, on the Zambezi; and consequently, in 1569, an exceptionally powerful expedition left Lisbon under the command of the Governor

[1] A corruption of *Mwene-mutapa* "Lord Hippopotamus," according to some authorities, for on the Zambezi above Tete the hippopotamus was looked on as a sacred animal. I am inclined to think however that *Mwene-mutapa* is really "Lord of the Mine, or gold mining," *mutapo* or *mtapo* being a shallow pit dug in clay or sand for mining, or washing gold.

and Captain-General Francisco Barreto, and after a preliminary tour up and down the East coast of Africa as far as Lamu, and a rapid journey to India and back, Francisco Barreto with his force, which included cavalry and camels, landed at Quelimane, and set out for Sena. The expedition was accompanied, and, to a certain extent, guided by a mischief-making Jesuit priest named Monclaros, who wished to avenge the assassination of his fellow-priest, Gonçalo de Silveira, martyred not long previously in the Monomotapa territories. Francisco Barreto found on arriving at Sena that there was already a small Portuguese settlement built alongside an Arab town. These Arabs appear to have got on very well with the first Portuguese traders, but they evidently took umbrage at Barreto's powerful expedition, and are accused of having poisoned the horses and camels. What really took place, however, seems to have been that the horses and camels were exposed to the bite of the Tsetse fly, and died in consequence of the attacks of this venomous insect. From Sena, Barreto sent an embassy to the Emperor of Monomotapa, whom he offered to help against a revolted vassal, Mongase. After receiving an invitation to visit the emperor, a portion of the Portuguese force commenced to ascend the right bank of the river Zambezi, but apparently never reached its destination, because it was so repeatedly attacked by the hostile natives that it was compelled to return to Sena. Shortly afterwards there arrived the news of a revolt at Moçambique, and consequently Barreto, together with the priest Monclaros, having handed over the command of the expedition to a lieutenant, entered a canoe, descended the Zambezi to the Luabo mouth, and from there took passage in a dau to Moçambique. He and Monclaros subsequently returned to Sena, but Barreto died soon after his arrival. The Portuguese chroniclers of this expedition write with considerable bitterness of the Jesuit Monclaros, to whose counsels most of the misfortunes and mistakes are attributed. The expedition after Barreto's death returned to Moçambique, and attempted

later on to enter Monomotapa by way of Sofala, but was repulsed.

For some time to come further exploration of the Zambezi or of the interior of Moçambique was put a stop to by the struggle which ensued with the Turks. Towards the end of the 16th century (in 1584), following on the conquest of Egypt and at the instigation of Venice, the Turkish Sultan sent a powerful fleet out of the Red Sea, which descended the East coast of Africa as far as Mombasa, and prepared to dispute with Portugal the dominion of the Indian Ocean. The Turks, however, were defeated with considerable loss by the Admiral Thomé de Sousa Coutinho, and Portuguese domination was not only strengthened at Zanzibar and along the Zanzibar coast, but was also affirmed along the south coast of Arabia and in the Persian Gulf.

At the end of the 16th century the Portuguese had terrific struggles with the natives in the interior of Monomotapa, behind Kilwa, on the mainland of Moçambique[1], and in the vicinity of Tete on the Zambezi; and shortly afterwards appeared the first Dutch pirates in East African waters, some of whom actually laid siege to Moçambique. In 1609 there arrived at Moçambique the first Portuguese Governor of the East coast of Africa, and this province was definitely separated from the Portuguese possessions in India, while at the same time it was withdrawn from the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa, and placed under the Prelate of Moçambique. Meantime the efforts to reach the gold-mines to the south of the Zambezi had been so far successful that a considerable quantity of gold was obtained not only by the officers, but even by the private soldiers of the different expeditions; but the expectations of the Portuguese as to the wealth of gold and silver (for they were in search of reported silver-mines on

[1] Where they are only now bringing the sturdy Makua tribe under subjection.

the Zambezi) were considerably disappointed, and later on, in the 17th century, their interest in these East African possessions waned, largely on account of the poor results of their mining operations. In the middle of the 17th century, however, a new source of wealth was discovered, which for two hundred years following gave a flickering prosperity to these costly establishments on the East coast of Africa —I mean the slave trade. In 1645 the first slaves were exported from Moçambique to Brazil. This action was brought about by the fact that the province of Angola had fallen for a time into the hands of the Dutch, and, therefore, the supply of slaves to Brazil was temporarily stopped.

In consequence of this Moçambique and the Zambezi for some years replaced West Africa as a slave market. In 1649 the English first made their appearance on this coast, and two years afterwards the Portuguese were perturbed by the definite establishment of a Dutch colony at the Cape, and by the establishment of French factories on the coast of Madagascar —events which are prophetically described by a contemporary writer as "Quantos passos para a ruina de Moçambique!"— "So many steps towards the ruin of Moçambique!" At the same time the Arabs in the Persian Gulf drove the Portuguese out of Maskat, and towards the end of the 17th century began to attack their possessions on the Zanzibar coast. By 1698 Portugal had lost every fortress north of Moçambique, and in that year this, their last stronghold, was besieged straitly by the Arabs and very nearly captured. In fact it was only saved by the friendly treachery of an Indian trader who warned the Portuguese of an intended night attack. All of these posts on the Zanzibar coast were finally abandoned[1] by the Portuguese in the early part of the 18th century by agreement with the Imam of Maskat, who founded the present dynasty of Zanzibar. In 1752 this fact was recognized by the formal

[1] Except Mombasa, which was retaken and held till 1730.

delimitation of the Portuguese possessions in East Africa at the time when they were also removed from any dependency on the Governor of Goa. In this decree of the 19th of April, 1752, the government of Moçambique was described as extending over "Moçambique, Sofala, Rio de Sena (Zambezi), and all the coast of Africa and its continent between Cape Delgado and the Bay of Lourenço Marquez (Delagoa Bay)." Hitherto commerce in Portuguese East Africa had been singularly restricted, and after being first confined to the Governors and officials of the state, was then delegated to certain companies to whom monopolies were sold; but in 1687 there was a fresh arrival, after a considerable interval, of Indian traders, who established themselves on the Island of Moçambique, and by degrees the whole of the commerce of Portuguese East Africa was thrown open freely to all Portuguese subjects, though it was absolutely forbidden to the subjects of any other European power, and considerable anger was displayed when French and Dutch endeavoured to trade on the islands or on the coast in the province of Moçambique. In the middle of the 18th century the principle of sending the worst stamp of Portuguese convicts to Moçambique was unhappily adopted in spite of the many protests of its governors. About this same time also there occurred a series of disasters attributable to the deplorable mismanagement of the Portuguese officials. The fortresses of the gold-mining country of Manika had to be abandoned, like Zumbo[1] on the upper Zambezi. The forts of the mainland opposite Moçambique were captured by an army of Makua, and the Island of Moçambique itself very nearly fell into the hands of the negroes of the mainland.

Towards the close of the last century, however, occurred a great revival. In fact, the period which then ensued was the only bright, and to some extent glorious phase of Portuguese

[1] Zumbo was given up (though it was never much more than a Jesuit Mission Station) in 1740.

dominion in South-east Africa. A remarkable man, Dr Francisco Jose Maria de Lacerda e Almeida, was first made Governor of Zambezia at his own request, and commenced the first scientific exploration of southern Central Africa. His journey resulted in the discovery of the Kazembe's division of the Lunda empire, a country on the Luapula and Lake Mweru. It is interesting to note that in 1796, only one year after the British had seized Cape Town, Dr Lacerda predicted this action would lead to the creation of a great British Empire in Africa, which would stretch up northwards like a wedge between the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Moçambique. But Dr Lacerda in time fell a victim to the fatigues of his explorations, and Portuguese interest in East Africa waned before the life-and-death struggle which was taking place with France in Portugal itself. Long prior to this also, in the middle of the 18th century, the Jesuits had been expelled from all Portuguese East Africa, and with them had fallen what little civilization had been created on the upper Zambezi. In fact, it may be said that after Lacerda's journey the province of Moçambique fell into a state of inertia and decay, until Livingstone, by his marvellous journeys, not only discovered the true course of the Zambezi river, but drew the attention and interest of the whole world to the development of tropical Africa.

On all old Portuguese maps, indeed on all Portuguese maps issued prior to Livingstone's journeys, there was but scanty recognition of the Zambezi as a great river. It was usually referred to as the "rivers of Sena," the general impression being that it consisted of a series of parallel streams. No doubt this idea arose from its large delta; on one or two maps, however, the course of the Zambezi is laid down pretty correctly from its confluence with the Kafue to the sea; but the fact cannot be denied that its importance as a waterway was quite unknown to the Portuguese, who usually reached it overland from Quelimane and travelled by land along its banks in preference to navigating its uncertain waters. The

Shire was literally unknown, except at its junction with the Zambezi. The name of this river was usually spelt Cherim, but its etymology lies in the Mañanja word *chiri*, which means "a steep bank." Captain Owen, who conducted a most remarkable series of surveying cruises along the West and East coasts of Africa in the early part of the 19th century, was the first to make the fact clearly known that a ship of light draught might enter the mouth of the Zambezi from the sea and travel up as far as Sena.

Livingstone's great journey across the African continent in the earlier '50's' attracted the attention of the British nation and Government to the possibilities of this region, so highly favoured by nature in its rich soil and valuable productions. Livingstone was appointed Consul at Quelimane, and placed at the head of a well-equipped expedition intended to explore the Zambezi river and its tributaries. Prior to this the Portuguese had abolished the slave trade by law, though slavery did not cease as a legal status till 1878, and had thrown open Portuguese East Africa to the commerce of all nations, and undoubtedly these two actions were an encouragement to the British Government to participate in the development of South-east Africa, especially as Livingstone's journeys had shown conclusively that the rule of the Portuguese did not extend very far inland, nor to any great distance from the banks of the lower Zambezi. The second Livingstone expedition may, therefore, be regarded as the first indirect step towards the foundation of the present Protectorate of British Central Africa, which dependency follows to a great extent in its frontiers the delimitations suggested by Dr Livingstone at the close of his second expedition.

A jealous feeling, however, arose at the time of Livingstone's explorations between Portuguese and British, and considerable pressure was brought to bear on the British Government to abandon the results of Livingstone's discovery; and these representations, together with other discouraging results

of British enterprise in East and West Africa, induced the British Government during the later '60's' and earlier '70's' to hold aloof from any idea of British rule in the interior of the continent. Meantime the Portuguese were making praiseworthy efforts to develop these long-neglected possessions. Great improvements were made, and a wholly modern aspect of neatness and order was given to the towns of Quelimane and Moçambique, which in many respects compare favourably with other European settlements on the East coast of Africa. Large sums were spent on public works; indeed, in the year 1880, the sum of not less than £157,000 was provided by the mother country for the erection of public buildings in Portuguese East and West Africa, and at this period the handsome hospital in the town of Moçambique was erected, together with a good deal of substantial road and bridge making. A good many more military posts were founded, and Zumbo, on the central Zambezi, at the confluence with the Luangwa, was reoccupied. Nevertheless, Livingstone's work, and especially his death, inevitably drew the British to Zambezia. In 1875 the first pioneers of the present missionary societies travelled up the Zambezi and arrived in the Shire highlands. In 1876 the settlement of Blantyre was commenced, and the foundations of British Central Africa were laid. These actions impelled the Portuguese to greater and greater efforts to secure the dominion to which they aspired—a continuous belt of empire stretching across the continent from Angola to Moçambique; and an expenditure exhausting for the mother country was laid out on costly expeditions productive not always of definite or satisfactory results. This policy culminated in the effort of Serpa Pinto to seize by force the Shire highlands, despite the resistance offered by the Makololo chiefs, who had declared themselves under British protection. Thence arose the intervention of the British Government and a long discussion between the two powers, which eventually bore results in a fair

delimitation of the Portuguese and British spheres of influence, and the annulling—it is to be hoped for all time—of any inimical feeling between England and Portugal in their African enterprises. Moçambique has proved a costly dependency to the mother country. From the year 1508 to 1893 there was always annually an excess of expenditure over revenue, sometimes as much as an annual deficit of £50,000. In the year 1893, for the first time since the creation of the colony, a small surplus was remitted to Lisbon. It is questionable whether this possession will ever prove profitable to Portugal. At the present day nearly two-thirds of the trade is in the hands of British subjects—Indians and Europeans. The remainder is divided amongst French, German, Portuguese, and Dutch commercial houses, and a small amount of commerce is carried on by natives of Goa or other Portuguese Indian possessions.

The chief article of trade in the Moçambique province is ground-nuts—the oily seeds of the *Arachis hypogæa*, a species of leguminous plant, the seed-pods of which grow downwards into the soil. These ground-nuts produce an excellent and palatable oil which is hardly distinguishable in taste from olive oil, and which indeed furnishes a considerable part of the so-called olive oil exported from France. This, perhaps, is the reason why the ground-nuts find their way finally to Marseilles. The india-rubber of Moçambique is of exceptionally good quality and fetches a good price in the market. Other exports are oil-seeds derived from a species of sesamum, copra, wax, ivory, and copper. A few enterprising people started coffee plantations on the mainland near Moçambique some years ago; but the local Portuguese authorities immediately put on heavy duties and taxes, so that the coffee-planting industry was soon killed. The same thing may be said about the coco-nut palm. At one time it was intended to plant this useful tree in large numbers along a coast singularly adapted for its growth; but owing to the fact that the local Portuguese Government

imposed a yearly tax on each palm the cultivation of the coco-nut was given up. The ivory comes chiefly from Ibo and Cape Delgado, and also from Quelimane, and is derived from elephants still existing in the Zambezi basin and in the eastern parts of Nyasaland. Nevertheless, most of the products above alluded to, with the exception of ivory, are only furnished by the fertile coast belt, for beyond the twenty mile strip of cultivated land which extends more or less down the whole coast of Moçambique, the interior of the country is dry and arid except in certain favoured river valleys.

Unfortunately all the trade in the Moçambique province is terribly hampered by the very high import duties, which in many cases are as much as 37 per cent. *ad valorem*; there are also export duties on some of the products of the country. Were it not for this fiscal policy, undoubtedly this part of Africa would be frequented by innumerable Indian traders and by a very much larger number of Europeans than is at present the case.

Portuguese influence, though not Portuguese rule, was carried southward to the northern shore of Delagoa Bay at the end of the 17th century. Here the settlement of Lourenço Marquez was founded as a trading station. At the beginning of the 18th century this Portuguese station was abandoned, and the Cape Dutch came and built a factory there, which however was destroyed by the English in 1727. Nevertheless Portugal continued to assert her claims to Lourenço Marquez; and when in 1776 an Englishman named Bolts (formerly in the employ of the English East India Company), who had entered the service of Maria Theresa in order to found an Austrian Company to trade with the East Indies from Flanders, came thither with a large band composed of Austrian-Italian subjects, and made treaties with the chiefs at Delagoa Bay, the Portuguese protested and addressed representations to the Austrian Government. These protestations would have been of but little avail had not a terrible outbreak of fever carried off

almost all the European settlers. The Austrian claim was therefore abandoned, and the Portuguese continued at intervals to make their presence felt there by a quasi-military commandant or a Government trading establishment. When Captain Owen's expedition visited Delagoa Bay between 1822 and 1824 they found a small Portuguese establishment on the site of the present town of Lourenço Marquez[1]. Realizing the importance of this harbour, and finding no evidence of Portuguese claims to its southern shore, Captain Owen concluded treaties with the King of Tembe by which the southern part of Delagoa Bay was ceded to Great Britain. The Portuguese made an indirect protest by removing the British flag during Captain Owen's absence, but the flag was rehoisted in 1824. Owen's action, however, was not followed up by effective occupation, though on the other hand the Portuguese did nothing to reassert their authority over the south shore of the bay until in the '60's' when the growing importance of South Africa led the English to reassert their claims. The matter was submitted to arbitration, and Marshal MacMahon, the President of the French Republic, was chosen as arbitrator. His verdict—a notoriously biassed one—not only gave the Portuguese the south shore of Delagoa Bay, but even more territory than they actually laid claim to. England had to some extent prepared herself for an unfavourable verdict by a prior agreement providing that whichever of the two disputing powers came to possess the whole or part of Delagoa Bay should give the other the right of pre-emption.

Reading the vast mass of evidence brought forward and preserved in Blue Books, it seems to the present writer that any dispassionate judge would arrive at these conclusions: That the Portuguese claims to the northern shore of Delagoa Bay were valid, but that over the southern shore of that

[1] The modern and existing town of that name was not founded till 1867.

important inlet they had exercised no occupation and raised no claim until the arrival of Captain Owen and his treaty-making, and that even after the action taken by Captain Owen their only procedure was to remove the flag he had raised, but not to follow up any such step by occupation or treaty-making on their own account. Captain Owen's action was not repudiated by the British Government, who besides had other rights over the territory in question inherited from the Dutch. Captain Owen's action was not, it is true, succeeded by immediate occupation, and the British case would have been a very weak one judged by the severe rules of the Berlin Convention of 1884. But then, if Portuguese territory in East Africa had been delimited by the same severe rules it would have been reduced to a few fortified settlements. Great Britain had a fair claim to the south shore of Delagoa Bay, and the award of Marshal MacMahon was a prejudiced one, said to have been mainly due to the influence of his wife, who was an ardent Roman Catholic, and had been won over to the Portuguese cause in other ways.

Subsequent to the Delagoa Bay award, the Portuguese made determined efforts to explore and conquer the South-east coast of Africa and the countries along the lower Zambezi. To the extreme north of their Moçambique possessions they had a dispute with the Sultan of Zanzibar as to the possession of Tungi Bay and the south shore of the mouth of the river Ruvuma. After their disastrous struggle with the Arabs in the 17th and 18th centuries the Portuguese had defined the northern limit of their East African possessions as Cape Delgado, and Cape Delgado would have given them the whole of Tungi Bay, though not the mouth of the Ruvuma. It is evident that the Sultan of Zanzibar was trespassing as a ruler when he claimed Tungi Bay, though not when he claimed the mouth of the Ruvuma. Portugal, losing patience at the time of the division of the Zanzibar Sultanate between England and Germany, made an armed descent on Tungi Bay in 1889, and

has since held it, though the Germans withdrew from her control the Ruvuma mouth, which they claimed as an inheritance of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The establishment of the British South African Company in 1889, and the consequent development of Mashonaland and Matabeleland subjected the Portuguese territories south of the Zambezi to a searching scrutiny on the part of these merchant adventurers, who laid hands on behalf of Great Britain on all territory where the Portuguese could not prove claims supported by occupation or ruling influence. The strongest temptation existed to ignore Portuguese claims on the Pungwe river and push a way down to the sea at Beira; but a spirit of justice prevailed and no real transgression of Portuguese rights was sanctioned by the British Government, or indeed attempted by the Company. In June, 1891, after several unsuccessful attempts, a convention was arrived at between England and Portugal, which defined tolerably clearly the boundaries of British and Portuguese territories in South-east, South-west, and South-central Africa. Rights of way were obtained under fair conditions both at Beira and at Chinde. Since this time a friendlier feeling has been growing up between the English and Portuguese. The Portuguese have been making steady efforts to bring under control their richly endowed East African province. For some time after their settlement with Great Britain they were menaced in the south by the power of Gungunyama, a Zulu king who ruled over the Gaza country, and who had been in the habit of raiding the interior behind the Portuguese settlements of Lourenço Marquez and Inhambane. The Portuguese warred against him for three years without satisfactory results, until Major Mouzinho de Albuquerque by a bold stroke of much bravery marched into Gungunyama's camp with a handful of Portuguese soldiers and took the king prisoner. For this gallant action he was eventually promoted to be Governor-General of Portuguese East Africa, and has since done something towards bringing

under subjection the turbulent Makua tribes opposite Moçambique. The Portuguese have never yet conquered the Angoche country which lies between Quelimane and Moçambique, and which is largely in the hands of chiefs descended from Zanzibar Arabs.

The greater portion of their south-east African possessions has been handed over to the administration of a Chartered Company—which although entirely Portuguese in direction derives its capital mainly from English and French sources. This Moçambique Company since its institution in 1891 has done much to open up the country, but further development is chiefly due to the British South African Company, who have constructed a line of railway from the Pungwe river, near Beira, to the eastern frontier of Mashonaland. A similar company, the Nyasa Company, was to have developed the country to the north of Moçambique between Lake Nyasa and the coast, but after a doubtful existence of a year or so this association was dissolved.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA

Plate III



Sir H.H. Johnston, K.C.B. del.

Bartholomew, Edin.

EXPLANATORY NCTE

Area of Portuguese Possessions in 1820

" " " 1898

Possessions lost or exchanged

CHAPTER III.

SPANISH AFRICA.

THE enterprise of Spain in Africa was relatively so small (the greater part of Spanish energy being devoted to founding an empire in the New World, in the far East, in Italy and Flanders) and was also politically so knit up at first with the Portuguese colonial empire that the little there is to say about it may be recorded in the shortest chapter of this book.

At the close of the 15th century the Spaniards followed up their expulsion of the Moors from Spain by attacking them on the North coast of Africa. They established themselves at Melilla[1], Oran, Algiers[2], Bugia, Bona, Hunein, Susa, Monastir, Mehedia, Sfax, and Goletta[3]. The apogee of Spanish power in North Africa was reached about 1535, at which time the Spaniards alternately with the Turks dominated the Barbary States. Then, owing to victory inclining to the Turkish corsairs[4], the Spaniards' hold over the country began to

[1] In 1490.

[2] Or the rock, or "Peñon," overlooking the town, seized and garrisoned by Cardinal Ximenez in 1509. It was taken by Khaireddin, the Turkish corsair, in 1530.

[3] Held by Spain from 1535 to 1574.

[4] The following is a *résumé* of the history of the intervention of Turkey in Barbary. In 1504 Uruj (Barbarossa I), a pirate of mixed Turco-Greek origin, attracted by the rumours of American treasure-ships in the western Mediterranean, captured Algiers (1516) and Tlemsan (1517); but he was defeated and killed by the Spaniards coming from Oran. His younger brother Khaireddin (Barbarossa II) appealed to Turkey, which had just (1518) conquered Egypt, and received from Sultan Selim the title of Turkish Beglerbeg of Algiers and a reinforcement of 2000 Turks. He

decline. A resolute attempt was made by Charles V in 1541 to take and hold the town of Algiers, the Spanish having lost Peñon, a rock fortress overlooking part of the town. This attempt of 1541 (only less serious than the French expedition of 1830) would probably have succeeded but for a torrential downpour of rain, which made the surrounding country impassable to the Spanish guns and cavalry, and led to a terrible rout. Had Algiers fallen at this time its capture might have resulted in a Spanish empire of North Africa. As it was, this twenty-four hours' downpour of rain changed the future of the northern part of the continent, or rather prevented a change which might have had very far-reaching results. Charles V had invaded Tunis in 1535 at the appeal of the last sovereign but one of the House of Hafs, who had been dispossessed by the Turkish pirate, Khaireddin. Although his intervention was ultimately unsuccessful, and his *protégé* was killed and succeeded by his son—who more or less intrigued with the Turkish corsairs—the Spaniards retained their hold on Goletta till 1574, the Turks having then definitely intervened in the affairs of Tunis. The Spaniards surrendered Goletta to the renegade pirate, Ochiali, and with it went all their influence over Tunis. An expedition which they had sent to the island of Jerba in 1560, under the Duke de Medina-Cœli and the younger Doria, ended in a great disaster, a defeat at the hands of the Moorish pirates who massacred, it is said, not less than 18,000 Spaniards (May, 1560). Their skulls were built into a tower, which remained visible near the town of Humt Suk till 1840, when the kindly Maltese settlers on this island obtained permission from the Bey of Tunis to give Christian burial to the Spanish skulls, which now are interred in the

mastered almost all Algeria; was made Admiral of the Turkish fleet in 1533; captured Tunis in 1534; was driven out by Charles V; and retired to Turkey in 1535. His successors were sometimes Sardinian, Calabrian, Venetian, Hungarian renegades; but among the more celebrated was Dragut, a Turk of Caramania.

Christian cemetery at Humt Suk. For brief intervals the Spaniards held other coast towns[1] of Tunis, but in retiring from Goletta they withdrew from all their places in the Regency.

They were finally expelled from Oran in 1791. They had been turned out of this place in 1708, but recaptured it after a period of 24 years, and held it for 59 years longer. Spain only retains at the present day on the North coast of Africa the little island of Melilla[2], the island of Alhucemas, the rock of Velez de la Gomera, the Chafarinas Islands[3], and the rocky promontory of Ceuta. Ceuta (and Tetwan, which she once possessed) she inherited from Portugal after a separation had once more taken place between the two monarchies in 1640. On the strength of some clause in an old treaty Spain has also recently secured from Morocco the town of Ifni, near Cape Nun on the Atlantic coast and nearly opposite the Canary Islands.

The Canary Islands were discovered by a Norman adventurer, Jean de Bethencourt, were occupied by Portugal, but ceded by that country to Spain (or rather, Castile) in 1479. Prior to their occupation the islands were inhabited by a Berber race of some antiquity known as the Guanches. These were partly exterminated, and partly absorbed by the Spanish settlers, to whom they were so much akin in blood that complete race fusion was rendered easy, especially as the Guanches had not been reached by Muhammadanism. The Canary Islands now form politically part of Spain. They are thoroughly civilized, and are well governed and prosperous. The two principal islands, Tenerife and Grand Canary, are favourite health resorts.

[1] Susa, Sfax, and Monastir, which were lost to the Turks by 1550.

[2] The oldest of her continental African possessions, dating from 1490.

[3] The Chafarinas Islands are off the mouth of the Muluya river, near the Algerian frontier. They were seized by the Spaniards in 1849, forestalling the French.

Curiously enough Spain allowed her influence over the coast opposite the Canary Islands to lapse between the end of the 16th century and the scramble for Africa which commenced in 1884. Meantime an English trading firm with agencies in the Canary Islands had been established at Cape Juby, south of the Morocco border, and British influence for a time dominated the coast immediately opposite the Canary Islands, and arrested Spanish action in that neighbourhood. When the scramble for Africa took place in 1884, however, the Spanish, who were greatly interested in the North-west coast, raised their flag at an inlet called the Rio d'Ouro[1], and declared a Protectorate over the Sahara coast between Cape Blanco and Cape Bojador and for a varying distance inland. This Protectorate has since been extended slightly to the north beyond Cape Bojador, but the Empire of Morocco now extends to the south of Cape Juby to meet the Spanish frontier, the Moorish Government having bought up the claims of the English company. The inland boundary of this Spanish Protectorate is not yet settled as between France and Spain. The only settlement of any importance or size is at the Rio d'Ouro.

In 1778 Spain, which had become very much interested in the slave trade on the West coast of Africa, on account of the need for a regular supply of slaves to her South American possessions, obtained from Portugal the cession of the island of Fernando Po, and also took over the island of Anno Bom —the last of this series of equatorial volcanic islands and the smallest. About the same time the Spaniards made a settlement at Corisco Bay[2]. The Spanish claims extend some distance up the river Muni. No boundaries have as yet been

[1] This Portuguese name becomes in Spanish Rio de Oro.

[2] This also, like so many other places on the West coast of Africa, was named by the Portuguese; *Corisco* meaning "sheet lightning," a name applied to the place because it was first seen during a violent thunderstorm.

settled with the French. This very interesting strip of Equatorial West African Coast is emphatically the home of the gorilla.

At the end of the 18th century the Spanish island of Fernando Po was almost abandoned. When the British undertook to put down the slave trade off the West African Coast, Fernando Po became their head-quarters (in 1829), and in time they were allowed to administer it by the Spanish Government, the British representative or "Superintendent" being made at the same time a Governor with a Spanish commission. But in 1844 the Spanish decided to resume the direct administration, and refused to sell their rights to Great Britain, though overtures were made to that end. Until ten years ago nothing had been done to develop the resources of this densely forested, very fertile, but unhealthy island. Of late, however, some encouragement has been given to planters. From the island having been for so long under British control, English is understood in Fernando Po much better than Spanish, and a number of freed slaves from Sierra Leone are settled there who talk nothing but an English dialect. The indigenous inhabitants are a Bantu tribe of short stature known as the Bube[1]. This tribe is distantly related to the people of the northern part of the Cameroons, and speaks a Bantu dialect.

[1] Bube is said to be a cant term meaning "male" (from the Bantu root, *-ume*, *-lume*) and the real name of this race is Ediya.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DUTCH IN AFRICA.

ALTHOUGH, as will be seen in Chapter VI, British explorers were the first adventurers of other nationalities to follow the Portuguese in the exploration of Africa, the Dutch, as settlers and colonists, are almost entitled to rank chronologically next to the Portuguese and Spanish. The Dutch made their first trading voyage to the Guinea Coast in 1595, 16 years after throwing off the yoke of Spain. On the plea of warring with the Spanish Empire, which then included Portugal, they displaced the latter power at various places along the West coast of Africa—at Arguin, at Goree (purchased from the natives 1621), Elmina (1637), and at Saõ Paulo de Loanda about the same time; while they also threatened Moçambique on the East coast, and possessed themselves of the island of Mauritius, which had been a place of call for Portuguese ships. On the West coast of Africa, besides supplanting the Portuguese, the Dutch established themselves strongly on the Gold Coast by means of 16 new forts of their own[1], in most cases

[1] Their "capital" was at Elmina; they held—when in full vigour—Fort Nassau (built before they took Elmina from the Portuguese), Kormantin, Secondee, Takorari, Accra, Cape Coast Castle, Vredenburg, Chama, Batenstein, Dikjeschopt (Insuma), Fort Elise Carthage (Ankobra), Apollonia, Dixcove, Axim, Prince's Fort near Cape Three-points, Fort Wibsen, and Pokquesoe. Before the abolition of the slave trade, Dutch Guinea was very prosperous. It was governed by a subsidized Chartered

alongside British settlements, which were regarded by the Dutch with the keenest jealousy.

Dutch hold on the Gold Coast produced an impression in the shape of a race of Dutch half-castes, which endures to this day, and furnishes useful employés to the British Government in many minor capacities. But after the abolition of the slave trade Dutch commerce with the Guinea Coast began to wane, and their political influence disappeared also: so that by 1872 the last of the Dutch ports had been transferred to Great Britain in return for the cession on our part of rights we possessed over Sumatra. Meantime Dutch trade had begun to take firm hold over the Congo and Angola Coast, and it is possible that, had the cession of the Gold Coast forts been delayed a few years longer, it would never have been made, for Holland possesses a considerable trade with Africa, and there has been a strong feeling of regret in the Netherlands for some time past at the exclusion of that country's flag from the African continent.

But a far more important colonization than a foothold on the Slave-trade Coast was made indirectly for Holland in the middle of the 17th century; the Dutch East India Company, desirous of making the Cape of Good Hope something more than a port of call, which might fall into the hands of Portugal, France, England, or any other rival, decided to occupy that important station. The Dutch had taken possession of St Helena in 1645, but a Dutch ship having been wrecked at Table Bay in 1648, the crew landed, and encamped where

Company—the Dutch West India Co.—under the control of the States General, and the local government consisted of a Governor-General at Elmina, a chief Factor (or trader), a chief Fiscal (or accountant-general), an under-fiscal (or auditor) and a large staff of factors, accountants, secretaries, clerks and assistant clerks. There was a chaplain; there were Dutch soldiers under Dutch officers who garrisoned the forts. After the wars of the French Revolution the Dutch Government took over the management of these establishments on the Gold Coast.

Cape Town now stands. Here they were obliged to live for five months, until picked up by other Dutch ships; but during this period they sowed and reaped grain, and obtained plenty of meat from the natives, with whom they were on good terms. The favourable report they gave of this country on their return to Holland decided the Dutch Company, after years of hesitation, to take possession of Table Bay. An expedition was sent out under Jan van Riebeek, a ship's surgeon, who had already visited South Africa. The three ships of Van Riebeek's expedition reached Table Bay on the 6th of April, 1652[1].

At different periods in the early part of the 16th century the Dutch had consolidated their sea-going ventures into two great chartered companies—the Dutch Company of the West Indies, and the Dutch Company of the East Indies. The West Indian Company took over all the settlements on the West Coast of Africa, and had the monopoly of trade or rule along all the Atlantic Coast of tropical America. The East India Company was to possess the like monopoly from the Pacific Coast of South America across the Indian Ocean to the Cape of Good Hope. The head-quarters of the East India Company, where their Governor-General and Council were established, was at Batavia, in the island of Java. It was not at first intended to establish anything like a colony in South Africa—merely a secure place of call for the ships engaged in the East Indian trade. But circumstances proved too strong for this modest reserve. The inevitable quarrel arose between the Dutch garrison at Table Bay and the surrounding Hottentots. At the time of the Dutch settlement of the Cape all the south-west corner of Africa was inhabited only and sparsely by Hottentots and Bushmen; the prolific Bantu Negroes not coming nearer to the Dutch than

[1] As Mr Lucas points out in his *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, "165 years after Bartolomeu Diaz had sighted the Cape of Good Hope."

the vicinity of Algoa Bay. A little war occurred with the Hottentots in 1659, as a result of which the Dutch first won by fighting, and subsequently bought, a small coast strip of land from Saldanha Bay on the north to False Bay on the south, thus securing the peninsula which terminates at the Cape of Good Hope. French sailing vessels were in the habit of calling at Saldanha Bay, and in 1666 and 1670 desultory attempts were made by the French to establish a footing there. Holland also about this time was alternately at war with England or France or both powers. Therefore the Dutch resolved to build forts more capable of resisting European attack than those which were sufficient to defend the colony against Hottentots. Still, in spite of occasional unprovoked hostilities on the part of the Dutch, they were left in possession of the Cape of Good Hope for more than a hundred years. The English had St Helena as a place of call (which they took from the Dutch in 1655), and the French had settlements in Madagascar and at Mauritius, where they succeeded a former Dutch occupation. On the other hand, the officials of the Dutch Company were instructed to show civility to all comers without undue generosity; they might supply them with water for their ships, but they were to give as little as possible in the way of provisions and ships' stores. It was to the interest of both France and England that some European settlement should exist at the Cape of Good Hope for the refreshment of vessels and the refuge of storm-driven ships. After several attempts, which continued down to 1673, to dispossess the English of St Helena, the Dutch finally surrendered the island to them. They had also in 1598 taken the Island of Mauritius, and commenced a definite occupation in 1640. But this island was abandoned in 1710, and became soon afterwards a French possession. So that the French at Mauritius on the one hand (and also at the Island of Bourbon) and the English on the other at St Helena, had places of call where they could break the long voyage to and

from India, and were therefore content to leave the Dutch undisturbed in South Africa.

The Government of the Netherlands East India Company was thoroughly despotic. It was administered by a Chamber of 17 directors at Amsterdam, with deputies at Batavia. The Commandant at the Cape, who was alternately under the orders of Amsterdam and Batavia—and who might be overruled by any officer of superior rank who called at his station in passing—was the slave of the Company, and had to carry out its orders implicitly. He was advised in his local legislation by an executive council, which consisted of a number of officers, who assisted him in the administration, and who legislated by means of proclamations and orders in council without any representation of popular opinion among the colonists, who, however, in time were allowed to elect members of the Council of Justice (i.e. High Court).

After the first three years' hesitation, strenuous efforts were directed to the development of agriculture, especially the cultivation of grain. Wheat was sown in suitable localities, and vines were planted on the hillsides at the back of Cape Town. Nevertheless the colonists were terribly hampered by restrictions, which made them almost slaves to the Company. White labour proving expensive and somewhat rebellious, an attempt was made to introduce Negro slaves from Angola and Guinea, but they were not a success as field labourers. The Dutch therefore turned towards Madagascar, and above all, to the Malay Archipelago, and from the latter especially workers were introduced who have in time grown into a separate population of Muhammadan freemen of considerable prosperity[1]. As Dutch immigrants still held back from settling the Cape with an abundant population (owing to the greed and despotic meddlesomeness of the Company), it became more and more necessary to introduce black labour, and in

[1] The "Cape Malays."

the first half of the 18th century many negro slaves were imported from West Africa and from Moçambique. The Cape became a slave-worked colony, but on the whole the slaves were treated with kindness; their children were sent to school, and some attempt was made to introduce Christianity amongst them. The people really to be pitied, however, were not the imported slaves, but the Hottentots, who had become a nation of serfs to the Dutch farmers, and whose numbers began greatly to diminish under the influence of drink and syphilis, and from being driven away by degrees from the fertile, well-watered lands back into the inhospitable deserts. After the colony had been established 30 years a census showed a total of 663 Dutch settlers, of whom 162 were children. For about the same period few if any attempts were made to explore the country 100 miles from Cape Town; but the coast from Little Namaqualand on the West to Zululand on the East had been examined by the end of the 17th century. Indeed the Bay of Natal was purchased by a representative of the Netherlands Company in 1689, but the ship bringing back the purchase deed was lost, and no further attempt was made to push the claim. In 1684 the first export of grain to the Indies took place, and in 1688 some Cape wine was sent to Ceylon. In 1685 and in subsequent years representations were made to the directors in Amsterdam that the colony consisted mainly of bachelors, and that good marriageable girls should be sent out. The result of this appeal was that in 1687 many of the free Burghers (namely, persons more or less independent of the Company) had been furnished with wives, and they and their families amounted to nearly 600, in addition to 439 other Europeans, who were mainly employés of the Company.

In 1685, Louis XIV unwittingly dealt a fearful blow to France in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which resulted in thousands of French Protestants emigrating to other countries where they might enjoy freedom of religion. The Protestant

Dutch sympathized with the homeless Huguenots, and the Netherlands Company decided to give free passages and grants of land to a number of these refugees. By 1689 nearly 200 French emigrants had been landed at the Cape and settled in the mountain country behind Cape Town. Here, however, they were not allowed to form a separate community. They were scattered amongst the Dutch settlers, their children were taught Dutch, and in a few years they were thoroughly absorbed in the Dutch community; though they have left ineffaceable traces of their presence in the many French surnames to be met with amongst the South African Dutch at the present day (always pronounced however in the Dutch way), and in the dark eyes, dark hair, and handsome features of the better type of Frenchman. Handsomer men and women than are some of the Afrikanders it would be impossible to meet with, but this personal beauty is almost invariably traceable to Huguenot ancestry. The French settlers taught the Dutch improved methods of growing corn and wine, and altogether more scientific agriculture. Towards the latter end of the 17th century the Dutch introduced the oak tree into the Cape Peninsula and the suburbs of Cape Town, where it is now such a handsome and prominent feature. All this time the Hottentots gave almost no trouble. They were employed here and there as servants; but they attempted no insurrection against the European settlers, though they quarrelled very much amongst themselves. In 1713 large numbers of them were exterminated by an epidemic of smallpox. The Dutch had not yet come into contact with the so-called Kaffirs[1].

Towards the middle of the 18th century the Dutch Company ceased to prosper—suffering from French and English competition. Already, at the beginning of the 18th century,

[1] It will be no doubt remembered that this term is derived from the Arab word "unbeliever." The Arabs of south-east Africa applied this term to the Negroes around their settlements. The Portuguese took it up from the Arabs, and the Dutch and English from the Portuguese.

its oppressive rule, and the abuse of power on the part of its governors, who used its authority and its servants to enrich themselves, resulted in an uprising amongst the settlers, and although some of these were arrested, imprisoned, and exiled, the Company gave some redress to their grievances by forbidding its officials in future to own land or to trade. Even before this the Company had found it necessary to place a special official, answering to an Auditor-General and an independent judge combined, alongside the Commandant or Governor, directly responsible to the Directors and independent of the Governor's authority; but this institution only led to quarrels and divided loyalty. Amongst the governors there were some able and upright men, and special mention may be made of Governor Tulbagh, who ruled without reproach and with great ability for twenty years (1751–71)[1].

In spite of licences and monopolies, tithes, taxes, and rents, the Company could not pay its way in Cape Colony. In 1779, it was more closely associated with the State in Holland by the appointment of the Stadhouder (or Head of the State) as perpetual Chief Director. With this change, the Company, partly supported by the State, managed to continue the direction of its affairs, and there was possibly some lessening of restrictions, which enabled settlers to live further afield. Until the beginning of the 18th century a standing order had forbidden trading between the settlers and the natives, but this order being abolished, the farmers commenced to buy cattle from the Hottentots, and the population became more scattered. In leasing land to the farmers the Company laid down the rule that clear spaces of three miles should intervene between one homestead and the next, and this rule brought about a wider distribution of European settlers than was contemplated in the Company's policy.

[1] Tulbagh deserves special remembrance not only from his geographical explorations, but from the fact that he was the first person to send specimens of the giraffe to Europe.

By the beginning of the 18th century the Dutch settlers had begun to cross the mountains which lie behind the narrow belt of coast land that forms a projection into the ocean on either side of the Cape of Good Hope. Seventy years later the boundaries of Cape Colony on the north and west were the Berg River and the Zwartebergen Mountains, and on the east the Gamtoos River. A few years later the pioneers of colonization had crossed the Berg River, and had established themselves as far north as the Olifants River, so named because earlier explorers had seen on its banks herds of hundreds of elephants. The Orange River was first discovered in 1760, and in 1779 Captain Gordon, a Scotchman in the service of the Dutch Company, had traced it for some distance down to its mouth, and had named it after the head of the Dutch State. Hitherto, the Dutch Government was confined to a narrow coast strip, but in 1785 the district of Graaf Reinet[1] was formed, and the same name was given to the village which formed its capital. Then the Dutch boundary crept up to the Great Fish River, which rises far away to the north, near the course of the Orange River. This Great Fish River remained the easternmost boundary of the Colony in Dutch times. To the north its limits were vague, and in one direction reached nearly to the Orange River, beyond the second great range of South African mountains—the Sneeubergen. But beyond the immediate limits of Cape Colony the Dutch displayed some interest. They attempted to seize Moçambique from the Portuguese in 1643. They opened up a furtive and occasional trade with the Portuguese coast of East Africa, which at first began for slaves (numbers of Makua were brought from Moçambique to Cape Town) and continued for tropical products, and, with many interruptions, resulted in the establishment at the present

[1] Named after Van de Graaf, who was Governor at the time. "Reinet" means in Dutch "a goat's beard," but I have not been able to discover why this term should have been added to the name of the Governor.

day of important Dutch commercial firms along the Moçambique coast. In 1720, after abandoning Mauritius, an expedition was sent from Cape Colony to Delagoa Bay, which, though claimed by the Portuguese, had been abandoned by them at the beginning of the 18th century, so far as actual occupation was concerned. (See above, p. 56.) A fort was built by the Dutch which was named Lydzaamheid, and tentative explorations were made in the direction of the Zambezi, from which gold dust was procured. During ten years of occupation, however, the deaths from fever were so numerous that the settlement was given up in 1730.

In 1770 the total European population in Cape Colony was nearly 10,000, of whom more than 8000 were free colonists, and the remainder "servants" and employés of the Company. All this time, although the prosperity of the Cape increased and its export of wheat, wine, and live-stock progressed satisfactorily, the revenue invariably failed to meet the expenditure, and if other events had not occurred the Dutch Company must soon have been compelled by bankruptcy to transfer the administration of the Cape to other hands. But towards the close of the 18th century, the Dutch, too weak to resist the influence of France and Russia, were showing veiled hostility towards England, with the result that England—which on the other hand was secretly longing to possess the Cape, owing to the development of the British Empire in India—declared war against the Netherlands at the end of 1780. In 1781 a British fleet under Commodore Johnstone left England for the Cape of Good Hope with 3000 troops on board. Johnstone, however, from storms and other reasons not so apparent, but possibly due to a certain indecision of mind, delayed his fleet at Porto Praya, in the Cape Verde Islands, and news of the expedition having been treacherously imparted to France by persons in England who were in her pay, Admiral Suffren—one of the greatest of seamen—surprised the British fleet at the Cape Verde Islands with a squadron of inferior strength,

and gave it such a sound drubbing that Johnstone was delayed for several months in reaching Cape Town, where the French had preceded him, and had landed sufficient men to make a British attack on Cape Town of doubtful success. Johnstone therefore contented himself in a not very creditable way with destroying the unarmed Dutch shipping in the port, and then left Cape Town without effecting a landing. The result was the garrisoning of Cape Town by a French regiment for two more years, during which time however another attempt was made by the British to seize the Cape, which was nearly successful. During this war, however, England apparently made up her mind that the possession of the Cape of Good Hope and of Trincomalee in Ceylon was necessary to the welfare of her Indian possessions, and did not lose sight of this policy when the next legitimate opportunity presented itself to make war upon Holland. On the other hand, the French, though they withdrew their troops in 1783, were equally alive to the importance of the Cape, and in the great duel which was to take place between the two nations it is tolerably certain that South Africa would never have remained in the hands of the Dutch; if it had not become English it would have been taken and kept by the French.

About this time the Dutch came into conflict with the Kaffirs. This vanguard of the great Bantu race had been invading southern Africa almost concurrently with the white people. Coming from the north-east and north they had—we may guess—crossed the Zambezi about the commencement of the Christian Era, and their invasion had brought about the partial destruction and abandonment of the Sabaean or Arab settlements in the gold-mining districts of south-east Africa. The Semitic inhabitants of Zimbabwe and other mining centres had been driven back to the coast at Sofala. The progress of the black Bantu against the now more concentrated Hottentots and Bushmen was then somewhat slower, delayed no doubt by natural obstacles, by the desperate defence of the Hottentots,

the tracts of waterless country on the west, and internecine warfare amongst themselves. Overlaying the first three divisions of Bantu invaders came down across the Zambezi from the districts of Tanganyika the great Zulu race, akin to the Makalaka and Bechuana people who had preceded them, but less mixed with Hottentot blood, and speaking a less corrupted Bantu language[1]. By the beginning of the 18th century this seventh wave—as one may call it—of Bantu invasion had swept as far south as the Great Kei River, and some years later had pushed the Hottentots back to the Great Fish River. In 1778 they came into direct contact with the Dutch, and the Governor of the Cape entered into an agreement with the Kaffir chiefs that the Great Fish River should be the boundary between Dutch rule and Kaffir settlement. Nevertheless, this agreement was soon transgressed by the Kaffirs, who commenced raiding the Dutch settlers. In 1781 the first Kaffir war ended disastrously for the Bantu invaders, who were driven back for a time to the Kei River. Eight years later they again invaded Cape Colony. A foolish policy of conciliation was adopted, which ended by the Kaffirs being allowed to settle on the Dutch side of the Great Fish River in 1789.

In 1790 the Netherlands East India Company was practically bankrupt, and in the following year (when it was computed that the European population of the Cape numbered 14,600 persons, owning 17,000 slaves) the Dutch Governor was recalled to Europe, and the country was for a year left in a state of administrative chaos, until two Commissioners, sent out by the States General, arrived and took over the government. But the next year these Commissioners went on to Batavia,

[1] Nevertheless, by their final and more complete contact with the Hottentots the Zulu-Kaffirs adopted three of the Hottentot clicks; whereas earlier invaders—Makalaka, Bechuana, and Herero—though adopting a few Hottentot terms, kept clear of Hottentot phonetics, and use no clicks to this day.

and the Burghers of the interior districts became so dissatisfied with the mismanagement of affairs that they expelled their magistrates and took the administration of their district into their own hands, calling themselves "Nationals," and becoming to some degree infected with the spirit of the French Revolution. Meantime, in the same year, 1793, the Dutch Government had joined England and Prussia in making war upon France. Two years afterwards—in 1795—the French troops had occupied Holland, and had turned it into the Batavian Republic, a state in alliance with France. The Prince of Orange, hereditary Stadhouder of the Netherlands, had fled to England, and in the spring of 1795 he authorized the British Government to occupy Cape Colony on behalf of the States General in order to obviate its seizure by the French. In June 1795 a British fleet carrying troops commanded by General Craig arrived at False Bay. The Dutch were not very willing to surrender Cape Town at the first demand, even though the interior of the country was in revolt against the Company. Both the officer administering the Company's Government and the dissatisfied Burghers sank their differences in opposition to the landing of the British. The latter were anxious to avoid hostilities, and therefore spent a month in negotiations, but on the 14th of July the British forcibly occupied Simon Town, and three weeks later drove the Dutch from a position they had taken up near Cape Town. In September 3000 more troops arrived under General Clarke, and in the middle of that month marched on Cape Town from the south-east. A capitulation was finally arranged after an attack and a defence which had been half-hearted. Thenceforth for eight years the English occupied Cape Town and administered the adjoining colony. At first their rule was military, just, and satisfactory; afterwards when a civilian governor was sent out a system of corruption and favouritism was introduced which caused much dissatisfaction. The British also had made it known that they only held the colony in trust for the Stadhouder, and this made

the Dutch settlers uncertain as to their allegiance. Meantime, however, the British administration gave some satisfaction to the settlers by its policy of free trade and open markets, and by certain reliefs in taxation; also by the institution of a Burgher Senate of six members. But the Boers of the interior remained for some time recalcitrant. The Dutch, moreover, made an attempt to regain possession of the Cape by despatching a fleet of nine ships with 2000 men on board, which, however, was made to surrender at Saldanha Bay by Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig without firing a shot. Kaffir raids recommenced, and the British having organized a Hottentot corps of police, the other Hottentots who were 'serfs to the Dutch rose in insurrection against their former masters. When in 1803 the British evacuated Cape Town they did not leave the colony in a sufficiently satisfactory condition to encourage the Dutch settlers to opt for British rule. From 1803 to 1806 the Dutch Government ruled Cape Colony as a colony, and not as the appendage of a Chartered company, which had now disappeared. The Cape ceased to be subordinate to Batavia, and possessed a Governor and Council of its own. A check was placed on the importation of slaves, and European immigration was encouraged. Postal communication and the administration of justice were organized or improved. In fact, the Commissioner-General De Mist and Governor Janssens, in the two years and nine months of their rule, laid the foundations of an excellent system of colonial government. But the march of events was too strong for them. The great minister Pitt, in the summer of 1805, secretly organized an expedition which should carry nearly 7000 troops to seize the Cape. In spite of delays and storms, this fleet reached Table Bay at the beginning of January, 1806. Six British regiments were landed 18 miles north of Cape Town. Governor Janssens went out to meet them with such poor forces as he could gather together—2000 in all against 4000 British. The result of course was disastrous to the Dutch,

whose soldiers mainly consisted of half-hearted German mercenaries. On the 16th of January, Cape Town surrendered, and after some futile resistance by Janssens in the interior, a capitulation was signed on January 18, and Janssens and the Dutch soldiers were sent back to the Netherlands by the British Government.

By a Convention dated August 13, 1814, the Dutch Government with the Prince of Orange at its head ceded Cape Colony and the American possession of Demerara to Great Britain against the payment of £6,000,000, which was made either by the actual tendering of money to the Dutch Government, or the wiping off of Dutch debts.

On the other hand, the surrender of the Cape to Great Britain induced the latter power to give back to Holland most of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, which we had seized and administered during the Napoleonic wars. If Holland lost South Africa—which she had only directly ruled for three years—she was enabled by our friendly attitude of self-denial to build up an empire in the East only second in wealth and population to the Asiatic dominions of Great Britain.

Yet, in an indirect fashion, Dutch Africa exists still, though the flag of Holland no longer waves over any portion of African soil as a ruling power. The old rivalry between the English and the Dutch, which had begun almost as soon as the Dutch were a free people, and competitors with us for the trade of the East and West Indies, had created a feeling of enmity between the two races, which ought never to have existed, seeing how nearly they are of the same stock, and how closely allied in language, religion, and to some extent in history—also how nearly matched they are in physical and mental worth. Curiously enough, there is far greater affinity in thought and character between the Scotch and the Dutch than between the Dutch and the English. The same thriftiness, bordering at times on parsimony, oddly combined with the largest-hearted hospitality, the same tendency to strike a

hard bargain, even to overreach in matters of business, and the same dogged perseverance characterize both Dutch and Scotch; while in matters of religion, almost precisely the same form of Protestant Christianity appeals to both; so much so, that there is practically a fusion between the Dutch Reformed Church and the Presbyterians. Had Scotchmen been sent out to administer Cape Colony in its early days, it is probable that something like a fusion of races might have taken place, and there would have been no Dutch question to cause dissension in South African politics in the 19th century. The Scotch would have understood the Boer settlers and their idiosyncracies, and would not have made fun of them or been so deliberately unsympathetic as were some of the earlier English governors. Slavery would have been abolished all the same, but it would have been abolished more cautiously, in a way that would not have left behind the sting of a grievance. But after Cape Colony had been definitely ceded to Great Britain its governors in the early days were mostly Englishmen, who, though often able and just men, were at little pains to understand the peculiarities of the Boer character, and to conciliate these suspicious, uneducated farmers. Another source of trouble was the influx of British missionaries, who found much to condemn in the Dutch treatment of the natives, which resembled that in vogue amongst Britons of the previous century, before the spirit of philanthropy was abroad. Curiously enough, some of these missionaries were Scotchmen, though belonging to Protestant sects of more distinctly English character. At any rate, the missionaries no doubt had so much right on their side in condemning the Boers for their conduct towards the natives, that their feelings in this respect overcame their national affinity for the Dutch. The Boer settler at no time showed that fiendish cruelty to the natives he was dispossessing which was so terribly characteristic of the Spanish colonization of Mexico, or of some of the English, French, and Portuguese adventurers on the West

coast of Africa in the 17th century; but he was determined to make of the native a serf, and denied him the rights of a man like unto himself. If the native revolted against this treatment he was exterminated in a business-like fashion; but if he submitted, as did most of the Hottentots, he was treated with patriarchal kindness and leniency. The Dutch settlers appear from the first to have dissociated their dealings with the Hottentots from their ordinary code of morals. It was not thought dishonest to cheat them, not thought illegal to rob them, not thought immoral to use their women as concubines. So entirely without scruples were the Dutch on this last point, that whole races arose, and have since become nations likely to survive and prosper, whose origin was the illicit union of Dutch men and Hottentot women. These "bastards," as they were frankly called, were well treated by the Dutch—they were not disowned, were usually converted to Christianity, taught to lead a more or less civilized life, and to talk the Dutch language, which they speak in a corrupt form at the present day. In short, the morals of the South African Dutch were the morals of the Old Testament, as were those of Cromwell's soldiers, and in this and many other modes of thought the Dutch Afrikanders lived still in the 17th century, whereas the British missionaries were of the early 19th, in the red-hot glow of its as yet disillusioned, and somewhat frothy philanthropy. The Dutch settlers were denounced at Exeter Hall and on every missionary platform, and the fact that many of the accusations were true in great measure did not make them more palatable to the accused.

As the Government policy at the Cape was for the first half of the century greatly influenced by Exeter Hall, the Dutch with some justice regarded the attacks of the missionaries as the result of a British Government, and hence withdrew from or rebelled against our rule. The dissentient, dissatisfied Boers began to trek away from the settled portion of Cape Colony into the wilderness behind, where they might

still lead the pleasant, unfettered, patriarchal life they had grown to love. They passed beyond the Orange River, which had come to be the northern limit of British influence, and, avoiding the deserts of Bechuanaland, passed north-eastwards into the better-watered territories now known as the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. They also sought a way out towards the sea in what is now the colony of Natal. Here they came into conflict first with the Kaffirs and Basuto on the West, and then with the Zulus on the East. The former were to some extent under British protection, therefore the British Government was ready to espouse their cause if they were unjustly dealt with. The Zulus, on the other hand, were strong enough and numerous enough to prevent a Boer settlement on their land. Nevertheless, the Boer invasion of Natal from the north was at that time a transgression into territory recently conquered and depopulated by one of the most abominable shedders of blood that ever arose amongst Negro tyrants—Chaka, the second[1] king of the Zulus. This latter saw the danger, and lured the pioneers of the Boers into a position where he was able to massacre them at his ease. With splendid gallantry—one's blood tingles with admiration as one reads the record of it—the few remaining Boers mustered their forces and avenged this dastardly murder by a drastic defeat of the Zulus. But this was in the early "forties," when British adventurers—more or less discouraged or unencouraged by the Home Government—had founded a coast settlement in Natal, on the site of what is now the town of Durban. The usual shilly-shally on the part of the British Government misled the Boers into thinking that they could

[1] If Dingiswayo, his master, can be regarded as the first. Dingiswayo was rather the paramount chief of a Kaffir confederation, of which the Zulu tribe was a member. Chaka was the younger son of the Zulu chief, but was eventually elected chief in his father's place and then succeeded to the paramount sway of Dingiswayo. Racially and linguistically there is very little difference between Zulus and Kaffirs.

maintain themselves in Natal against our wishes. As they had further broken an agreement with us by attacking the Basuto and the Kaffirs, a British force was despatched against them in 1842 which, after a brief struggle, induced them to capitulate. Natal was then secured as a British colony, and the Boers with bitter disappointment had to seek their independent state to the north of the Orange River. But here also they were followed up, and had the Governor of the Cape—Sir George Grey—been supported from Downing Street, the Orange River sovereignty would never have become the Orange Free State, and it is probable that even the territory beyond the Vaal River might in like manner have been subjected to British control.

But Downing Street for eighty years from the cession of the Cape of Good Hope persistently mismanaged affairs, now blowing hot with undue heat, now blowing cold, and nipping wise enterprise in the bud. The action of the Governor was repudiated, and the Sand River Convention unratified. In the most formal manner the Boers north of the Orange River were accorded absolute independence, subject to certain provisions about slavery, and the like privilege had been previously accorded to those who had further trekked across the Vaal River at a time when the Orange River state was likely to become a British Colony. So from 1852 and 1854 respectively[1], the South African Dutch have formed two states entirely independent of British rule in their internal affairs, and but dubiously governed by us in their external relations. The Orange Free State, which contained a considerable British element dating from the period of British sovereignty, has had

[1] The Sand River Convention, recognizing the independence of the Transvaal, was signed in January, 1852; the Bloemfontein Convention, which loosed the Orange Free State from British control, was signed in February, 1854. In 1858, Sir George Grey laid before the Cape Parliament proposals from the Orange Free State for reunion in a South African Federation, and was recalled by the Home Government for advocating this policy.

latterly an uneventful career of steady prosperity[1], due in large measure to the wisdom of its chief magistrates. When the diamond fields were discovered on its borders towards the end of the "sixties" it had some cause for complaint against the British Government, since, taking advantage of the undefined rights of a Griqua (Bastard Hottentot) chief, we extended our rule over this arid territory north of the Orange River, which was suddenly found to be worth untold millions of pounds. But the amount of territory under dispute with the Orange Free State was relatively small, and if we had transgressed their rightful borderland to some slight degree, we atoned for it by paying them an indemnity of £90,000. Great Britain also intervened several times to prevent the warlike Basuto (who dwell in that little African Switzerland between the Orange Free State and Natal) either from raiding the Orange Free State, or from being themselves raided and conquered by Boer reprisals. Eventually Basutoland, whose affairs had been somewhat mismanaged by the Cape Parliament, was taken under direct imperial control, and ever since there has been a complete cessation of trouble in that quarter with the Orange Free State.

The career of the Transvaal Republic was much less successful in its early days. The territory was vaster, in many places not so healthy, and the native population—especially in the eastern districts[2]—was turbulent, and strongly averse to accepting Boer rule. The existence of gold, though occasionally hinted at by unheard pioneers, was unknown to the world at large, and absolutely ignored by the Boers; there was little or no trade, and the European population was scanty. By 1877 the condition of this state had become so hopeless with a bankrupt treasury and the menace of a Zulu invasion, that it

[1] For the first few years of its existence it had much fighting with the Basuto.

[2] Zulus and Kaffirs under Msilikazi in the east; Bechuana tribes in the west.

was annexed, somewhat abruptly, by the Imperial representative, Sir Theophilus Shepstone. No doubt this step was consonant with the enlightened policy then favoured by the Imperial Government and subsequently by that far-sighted man, Sir Bartle Frere, who was to become Governor of the Cape during the latter part of the late Earl Carnarvon's tenancy of the Colonial Office. Lord Carnarvon himself was resolutely intent on carrying out in Africa south of the Zambezi a scheme of federation similar to that which had in 1866 consolidated the Dominion of Canada. But the actual method by which the Transvaal was taken over was not a well considered one, and unhappily it was followed by the appointment of an officer to rule over that country whose demeanour was wholly unsympathetic to the Boer nature. At the end of 1880 the Boers revolted. After a short military campaign, conspicuous for its utter lack of generalship on the part of the English, and for the disastrous defeats inflicted on our forces by the Boers at Lang's Nek and Majuba Hill, the British Government of the day (who a few months before had absolutely refused the Boers' appeal for the reversal of the annexation) concluded a hurried armistice, and gave back (1881) its independence to the Transvaal, subject to a vague suzerainty on the part of the British Crown, and later on to a British veto which might be exercised on treaties with foreign powers. The best plea that can be urged on behalf of this surrender, which subsequent British Governments have had such cause to regret, was the belief that a stern prosecution of the war, and the eventual Boer defeat, would lead to the uprising of the Dutch settlers in Cape Colony and the intervention of the Orange Free State. It is doubtful whether there was much foundation for this fear, or whether it would not have been much easier at that time to settle British supremacy once and for all over all Africa south of the Zambezi, even if it led to some degree of internecine fighting: the more so as there would have been no danger of European intervention at that

date. But the chance was let slip, and the Boers acquired an independence the more justly won, and the less easily disturbed since it was the result of their sturdy valour.

The restraining conditions of the 1881 Convention were still further attenuated by the London Convention of February 27, 1884, in which with further fatuity the Government of the day accorded unnecessarily to the Transvaal state the extravagant title of "The South African Republic." Perhaps this is the most remarkable act of abnegation which has ever occurred in the history of the British Empire, and it must have seemed to the inhabitants of British South Africa like the admission of a rival ruling power into the British sphere south of the Zambezi. By this 1884 Convention (worthless for that purpose, as are all treaties and conventions when the force to maintain them is not apparent) the geographical limits of the Transvaal state were clearly defined, and the Boers engaged to keep within them.

Encouraged by this diplomatic success, and the feeble manner in which the Imperial Government had permitted them to carve out a fresh state in the heart of Zululand, the Boers of the Transvaal now determined to add Bechuanaland to their dominions, and possibly to cut off British expansion to the Zambezi, and to make their western frontier coincident with the natural limits of that Protectorate which Germany had just established, north of the Orange River. But public opinion in Great Britain was becoming intolerant of any further sacrifices of British aspirations in South Africa, and of breaches of faith on the part of the Boers, and forced the Government of the day to assert itself. A strong expedition was sent out under Sir Charles Warren at the end of 1884, which finally secured for Great Britain the Protectorate of Bechuanaland, and the restraining of the Transvaal within its proper limits. Nevertheless, in 1894 a fresh concession was made to that state by the withdrawal of British opposition to its absorption of a little enclave of Zulu country known as Swaziland. In excuse for

the British Government it must be pointed out that the Swazi chiefs had previously made over to Transvaal subjects so many rights and concessions that any other solution than the further cession of the administration was rendered difficult under the existing conditions.

Soon after the conclusion of the London Convention of 1884, the vast wealth in gold, which for more than ten years back had been hinted at by uneducated pioneers, and denied by mining experts[1], began to be made known; the development of the marvellous Witwatersrand brought about the foundation of Johannesburg, and directed to the Transvaal an enormous influx of outsiders, mainly English—at any rate, mainly British subjects, though many of them were Jews from England, or from France and Germany who had become naturalized British subjects. Mines were also opened in the east and in the north of the Transvaal. On the other hand, to counteract the influence of this British element, the Transvaal Government had almost ever since its establishment in 1881 been strengthening the Dutch element by inviting the settlement of Hollanders from the Netherlands, who were employed in its Government offices, in its schools, its churches, and on the construction of its railways. These natives of Holland showed themselves very hostile to British influence, and through their efforts a great deal of sympathy with the South African Dutch was aroused in Holland and Germany. On the other hand, the Outlanders, who settled round Johannesburg and other mining centres and who soon came to outnumber the Boer element in the Transvaal population to the extent of five to one, became dissatisfied with their position under the Boer Government, who ruled them autocratically, without giving them any voice in the administration or in the spending of the heavy taxes levied on their industries. (It should be noted that the Boer Government had attempted to

[1] About as trustworthy guides in mineralogy as experts in handwriting!

wall itself in from contact with the surrounding British and Portuguese states by an exceedingly high tariff of import duties, which rendered many articles of necessity or luxury extremely expensive, and made civilized life five times as dear as in the adjoining Cape Colony.) It was again the contact between the very end of the 19th century and the manners, customs, language, and puritanical religion of the 17th century.

To some extent this recalcitrant attitude of the Boers was condemned and deprecated by their much more enlightened brethren, the Cape Dutch. In time, probably, these latter might have encouraged and supported the intervention of the Imperial Government in securing fair terms to the Outlanders, and as these fair terms must have given the Outlanders a preponderating voice in the Government, the Transvaal might have been brought within the South African Federation under the British ægis. But the Right Hon. Cecil John Rhodes, then Prime Minister of the Cape and Managing Director of the British South Africa Chartered Company, saw in this discontent at Johannesburg the means and excuse for his personal intervention in the Transvaal. He hurried on the movement, and even carried it beyond the limits indicated by the more disinterested Reformers. The administrator of the Chartered Company's territories, Dr Jameson, invaded the Transvaal (Dec. 29, 1895) with a small force of between 500 and 600 mounted police, and endeavoured to reach Johannesburg, the centre of unrest, with a half-avowed intention of subsequently marching on Pretoria, and upsetting the Boer Government. But the Boer forces intercepted Dr Jameson before he could reach Johannesburg, and after an engagement in which a few of his men were killed, and after which further progress would have meant annihilation, he surrendered. The High Commissioner of South Africa hurried to Johannesburg; Dr Jameson and his officers were handed over to the British Government to be dealt with, and afterwards underwent a short term of imprisonment. On the other hand, the Reformers of Johannesburg

were treated by the Pretoria Courts with inexcusable harshness, seeing that they had not taken an active part in Dr Jameson's inroad, and had surrendered their city to the Boer Government. Enormous fines, amounting eventually to nearly half a million sterling, were inflicted on them, after a somewhat burlesque trial in which they had been condemned to death, only to be subsequently imprisoned or expelled. For the time being this wanton aggression on the part of Mr Rhodes alienated all sympathy for the grievances of the Outlanders, and provoked strong expressions of opinion in certain European states, who, until they were assured that the British Government was dissociated with Mr Rhodes' scheme, were not unnaturally prone to imagine that their own territories in Africa might some day be exposed to a British raid. The immediate outcome, therefore, of this ill-advised action on the part of the Cape Premier (though that official was admittedly actuated by the same desire which has inspired some British statesmen, to bring about the Britannicizing of all Africa south of the Zambezi) was the strengthening and intensifying of the separatist character of the two Dutch republics still existing in South Africa. Whether the power gained by these independent Dutch states will be wisely used, or whether they will overreach their strength and misuse their influence, and so draw down on them their eventual absorption within the adjoining British Empire, remains to be seen. These brave, sturdy Dutchmen have played a great part in Africa, a part of which their mother country, Holland, may well be proud. They are so nearly of our own blood[1] and tongue, and history, that we may, without any more sting of bitterness than that with which we recall the revolt of the American Colonies, take pride in their achievements and smile grimly at the stout blows they have dealt us in their own defence.

[1] For if we are Celts and Teutons dashed with French, so are these descendants of the old Frisians and Batavians, mingled as they are with Huguenot emigrants.

SLAVE TRADE OF AFRICA



Rev. H.H. Johnston K.C.B. del.

Bartholomew, Edin.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The map shows the slave hunting or trading areas shaded according to degree of intensity of slave traffic. The red lines indicate the principal routes of the slave ships or caravans and the destination of the slaves

CHAPTER V.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

MAN had not long emerged from the monkey before he conceived the idea of enslaving instead of or as well as eating his enemies or his inferiors. Slavery and the slave trade, however—mere servitude—need not excite great horror or pity when it occurs among people of the same race or the same religion, or in countries which are not far from the home of the enslaved. It is where the state of servitude exists between widely divergent races that it gives rise to abuses, which are obvious even to those who are not sensitive philanthropists.

The Negro, more than any other human type, has been marked out by his mental and physical characteristics as the servant of other races. There are, of course, exceptions to the general rule. There are tribes like the Kruboys of the West African coast, the Mandingo, the Wolof, and the Zulu, who have always shown themselves so recalcitrant to slavery that they have generally been let alone; while the least divergence from the Negro stock in an upward direction—such as in the case of the Gallas and Somalis—appears to produce a resolute attachment to freedom. But the negro in general is a born slave. He is possessed of great physical strength, docility, cheerfulness of disposition, a short memory for sorrows and cruelties, and an easily aroused gratitude for kindness and just dealing. He does not suffer from home-sickness to the overbearing extent that afflicts other peoples torn from their homes, and, provided he is well fed, he is easily made happy. Above all, he can toil hard under the hot sun and in the unhealthy

climates of the torrid zone. He has little or no race-fellowships—that is to say, he has no sympathy for other negroes; he recognizes and follows his master independent of any race affinities, and, as he is usually a strong man and a good fighter, he has come into request not only as a labourer but as a soldier.

Negro slaves were imported into Lower Egypt as servants. A few may have reached Carthage and Rome; but the determined exploitation of the black races did not begin on a large scale till the Muhammadan conquest of Africa. The Arabs had swept across Northern Africa, and become directly acquainted with the Sudan[1]. Before the promulgation of Islam they traded with the East coast of Africa, and after the Islamic outburst they ruled there as sultans. The secluding of women in harems guarded by eunuchs had come into vogue during the Byzantine Empire, but it was probably a custom of Indian origin. It was adopted with emphasis among the civilized Mussulmans, and the Negro eunuch proved the most efficient and faithful guardian of the gynæceum. So the slave trade developed mightily in the Muhammadan world. Household slaves and eunuchs were imported into North Africa, Arabia, Turkey, and Persia from the Sudan; while in a later century the Sultan of Morocco established his power firmly by importing fighting negroes from Nigeria. Arabia, Persia, and India obtained negroes from the Egyptian Sudan, Abyssinia, and the Zanzibar coast. Into the West coast of India negro slaves were imported from East Africa to become the guards of palaces and the fighting seamen of navies. In the Bombay Presidency these negroes became so useful or powerful that they carved out states for themselves, one or more of which, still ruled by negro princes, are in existence at the present day as dependencies of the Government of India[2].

[1] Sudan means in Arabic "Black men" or the "Land of the Blacks."

[2] As for example, Janjira in Konkan, which has an area of 325 sq. m., and Jafarabad in Kathiawar 42 sq. m. in extent.

The final impetus was given to this traffic by the European. When the Spanish, Portuguese and English discovered and settled America they found the native races too small in numbers, too fierce, or too weakly to be suited for agricultural work, and as early as 1503 African slaves were working in the mines of San Domingo, of Mexico, and even of Peru, brought thither by the Spaniards and Portuguese. In 1517 the slave trade between Africa and America was regularly established, Charles V of Spain having granted to a Flemish merchant the exclusive privilege of importing into America 4000 slaves a year. This monopoly was subsequently sold by the concessionaire to a company of Genoese merchants.

English adventurers, who had first found their way out in Portuguese ships to investigate the spice trade, soon determined to take up the traffic in negro labourers for the plantations in America as being more profitable. Sir John Hawkins, one of the famous seamen of the Elizabethan era, in 1562 took over to the West Indies the first cargo of slaves transported under the British flag; but Sir John Hawkins, who afterwards adopted a "demi-Moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord" as his crest, only made, I believe, one direct voyage to the coast of Guinea on his own account, and usually shipped his slaves at the Canary Islands, acting thus as a transport agent for the Spaniards. England had not been engaged largely in the slave trade until she commenced to possess Jamaica and other West Indian islands, and to develop the tobacco plantations of Virginia. Then she almost outdid rival nations. The late Dr Robert Brown, in his interesting work, "The Story of Africa," computes that in a little more than a century, from 1680 to 1786, 2,130,000 negro slaves were imported into the English-American colonies, Jamaica in the course of 80 years absorbing 610,000. Towards the latter end of the 18th century the various European powers interested in America imported on an average over

70,000 slaves a year, the British bringing more than one half, and sometimes a still greater proportion. At first the slaves came chiefly from the Gambia and the other rivers southward to Sierra Leone, and also from the Congo and the Portuguese possessions of Angola and the Zambezi. Then, as the demand grew, a rich field was tapped in the Bights of Biafra and Benin, especially in that network of swampy rivers, which, unknown to Europeans of those days, is the delta of the Niger river. But slowly there grew up in England and in the Scandinavian States a feeling that there was something wrong in this system which imposed so much misery on beings, who, though in some degree inferior to ourselves, were yet our fellow-men, since they could interbreed with us and learn to talk our language. That such feelings must have existed at all times was evident from the desire of good men when dying to grant freedom to their slaves. But the feeling as a national one remained dormant, and was not general in England until the close of the 18th century. Here and there cases of a negro prince being sold into slavery attracted attention and sympathy and caused a searching of consciences among enlightened men. In 1772 a great-minded Englishman, Granville Sharp, succeeded by pushing a test case in getting a judicial decision that slavery could not exist in England, and that therefore any slave landing in England became free, and could not be taken back into slavery. In 1787 Wilberforce, Clarkson, and other philanthropists formed themselves into an association to secure the abolition of slavery, and by their exertions in Great Britain a bill was passed in 1788 which did not go to the lengths they desired, but which subjected the slave trade to severe restrictions. Yet it is doubtful whether, before this act was passed, the hardships of the slaves transported by sea were so terrible as they became after the restrictions placed on the trade rendered it necessary to carry large numbers of human beings on a single voyage more or less concealed from sight in the

hold of the vessel with an utter disregard for sanitary conditions[1]. In these later days, when it was necessary to evade tiresome regulations or to carry on the trade in the face of direct prohibition, the sufferings of the slaves were so appalling that they almost transcend belief. It would seem as though the inhuman traffic had created in Arabs and negroes and white men a deliberate love of cruelty, amounting often to a neglect of commercial interest; for at first sight it would appear obviously to be to the interest of the slave raider and the slave trader and transporter that the slaves should be landed at their ultimate destination in good condition—certainly with the least possible loss of life. Yet, as the present writer can testify from what he has himself seen, a slave gang on its march to the coast was loaded with unnecessarily heavy collars or slave-sticks, with chains and irons that chafed and cut into the flesh, and caused virulent ulcers. They were half starved, over-driven, and insufficiently provided with drinking water, and recklessly exposed to death from sunstroke. If they threw themselves down for a brief rest or collapsed from exhaustion they were shot or speared or had their throats cut with fiendish brutality. I have seen at Taveita (now a civilized settlement in British East Africa) boys and youths left in the bush to die by degrees from mortification and protrusion of the intestines owing to the unskilful way in which they had been castrated by the Arabs, who had attempted to make eunuchs of them for sale to Turkish and Arab harems. Children whom their mothers could not carry, and who could not keep up with the caravan, had their brains dashed out. Many slaves (I again write from personal knowledge)

[1] It was asserted by Winwood Reade, however, who no doubt derived his statement from good authority, that the close confinement of the slaves on board the tiny vessels of the 16th century adventurers, developed and introduced into tropical America that dread disease, the yellow fever—a malady which appears to be a variant of the haematuric bilious fever indigenous to Africa.

committed suicide because they could not bear to be separated from their homes and children. They were branded and flogged, and, needless to say, received not the slightest medical treatment for the injuries resulting from this rough usage. So much for the overland journey which brought them to the depôt or factory of the European slave trader on the coast; then began the horrors of the sea passage, the description of which, it must be admitted, refers almost entirely to the ships of civilized nations, like the English, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and Americans, and not to the Arabs and Indians, who carried slaves across from the East coast of Africa to Arabia or India. In the latter case the sailing vessels were not often overcrowded, and the slaves were allowed a fair degree of liberty. In the slave trade with America, especially when it was placed under restrictions and finally penalized, it was the aim of the masters to pack as many slaves as possible on board the vessel, the peril of making one run being only half of what was entailed in making two. Very often the slaves were sent on board stark naked. They were packed like herrings in the hold or on the middle deck, and in times of bad weather, or for reasons of security, were often kept under hatches. The stench they produced then was appalling, and many died asphyxiated. On some ships, and where the captain was a humane man, the slaves were occasionally allowed to go on deck, and were watered with a hose, and where the skipper's commission made it profitable to him to land the slaves in good condition, they received better food, and occasional luxuries like tobacco; but if the slaver were chased by a British cruiser, no scruple was shown in throwing the slaves overboard to drown.

Denmark has the credit of being the first European power to forbid the slave trade to her subjects (1792). Two years later the United States of America forbade their subjects to "participate in the exportation of negroes to foreign countries," and in 1804 an act (first promulgated in 1794) was

revived, which prohibited the introduction of any more slaves into the United States. A long struggle had taken place in Great Britain (many of whose Liverpool and Bristol merchants were deeply interested in the slave trade) before, in 1807, an act of Parliament was passed abolishing the slave trade as far as British subjects were concerned. At the Congress of Vienna, 1814, France agreed in principle that the slave trade should be done away with, and even signed a treaty providing that whilst the slave trade continued with French colonies it should only be carried on by French subjects. During Napoleon's hundred days of rule in 1815 a decree was issued ending the slave trade for good and all. In the same year Portugal subjected the slave trade to certain restrictions, but did not finally abolish it till 1830. In 1836 England paid Portugal the sum of £300,000 in order to get the export of slaves from any Portuguese possession prohibited. Great Britain had also in 1820 paid £400,000 to Spain to purchase a promise from the Spaniards that they would cease to buy negroes in Africa. Both contracts, though ostensibly agreed to by the Governments concerned, were frequently violated by individuals. In 1814 and 1815 the Dutch and Swedes respectively prohibited the slave trade to their subjects, and a few years later most of the Spanish South American states abolished the slave trade on attaining their independence. Slavery was abolished as a legal condition in all parts of the British dominions in the '30's'—in Jamaica and the West Indies in 1833, in South Africa 1834–1840, and in India about the same time[1]. Besides the sums mentioned which England paid to Spain and Portugal to induce them to give up the traffic in slaves, she distributed twenty millions of pounds amongst slave owners of the West Indies as compensation for the abolition of slavery, and £1,250,000 to those who possessed slaves in Cape

[1] Natives of British India, however, continued to hold slaves on the East coast of Africa until it was made a criminal offence in 1873.

Colony when they were emancipated. Add to these sums the millions of money we have spent in founding Sierra Leone as a slave settlement, in helping Liberia[1] (from the same motive), in patrolling the East and West coasts of Africa and the Persian Gulf, and it will be admitted that we have here a rare case of a nation doing penance for its sins, and making that real reparation which is evidenced by a monetary sacrifice.

In 1840 and in previous years the French had abolished slavery in all their possessions, the Dutch a little later, and later still most of the South American states; but in the Portuguese possessions slavery was not abolished till 1878 and in the United States of America till 1863, while Brazil remained a slave-holding country until 1888, the final and somewhat abrupt abolition of slavery being one of the causes which led to the downfall of the Emperor. However, long after any British or French possession had ceased to offer inducements to the slave trader to run illegal cargoes there were quite sufficient countries in the Western Hemisphere to provide an excellent market, while the Muhammadan world in the East continued to make greater demands than ever on the Central African slave preserves[2].

To counteract the attempts to evade the law a powerful British squadron swept the West coast of Africa; but in spite of British efforts to intercept slave-trading vessels, these latter continued to run cargoes across to the United States, Cuba and Brazil, and it was not possible for this traffic to be wholly

[1] Liberia commenced with an attempt made by philanthropic Americans (the Washington Colonization Society) in 1820 to repatriate free negroes from the United States. It was formally recognized as an independent state under joint British and United States protection in 1847.

[2] Slavery was abolished in the Turkish dominions after the Crimean War, but exists still to some degree on account of the harems, which demand a supply of eunuchs. Slavery also continues to be in force in the independent states of Arabia, and in the Persian dominions.

vanquished until the abolition of slavery in those countries closed the last markets to the slave trader. A most interesting light is thrown on the vastness of the area covered by these slave-trading operations in a work by the Rev. S. W. Koelle (a missionary of the Church Missionary Society) entitled "Polyglotta Africana." Mr Koelle established himself at Sierra Leone for some years and busied himself in collecting from the slaves who were landed there from British cruisers vocabularies of the languages they spoke in their own homes. In this way he took down over 200 languages, which represented most of the tongues of the West coast of Africa, of the upper Niger, of Senegal, of Lake Chad, the South-west African coast as far as Benguela, Nyasaland, the Zambezi delta and the South-east coast of Africa, and even Wadai.

When, at the close of the 18th century, British philanthropists were desirous of repatriating negroes who wished to return to Africa, the Sierra Leone Company was started, which purchased from native chiefs the nucleus of the present colony of Sierra Leone. Here, for three-quarters of a century, British cruisers landed and set free the slaves that were captured off the West coast of Africa. Zanzibar, on the other side of the continent, became about twenty years ago the eastern analogue of Sierra Leone. Since the British occupation of Egypt slavery has practically ceased to exist in that country; and owing to the French occupation of Algeria and Tunis, and the influence brought to bear by England on Turkey in regard to Tripoli, there is not much traffic in slaves across the Sahara Desert to those countries; though anybody visiting the south of Tunis will be surprised at the large number of negroes in all the villages, showing that quite recently constant supplies must have been received from Bornu and the Hausa states. The shocking slave raids of the Matabele Zulus have been abolished by the British South Africa Company, and similar raids of the Angoni have been put an end to by the Imperial Government in British Central Africa.

The Arabs of Zanzibar had acquired an evil fame for their gigantic slave raids in East-central Africa. The British Government, which had separated Zanzibar from Maskat as an independent state in 1862, began to concern itself a few years later with the slave trade which flourished in those dominions. By 1873 the Sultan of Zanzibar had, after considerable pressure, been induced to make the slave trade illegal in his Sultanate, though it continued to flourish in an illegal manner until the administration of his territories by England and Germany.

Arabs from 'Oman in South-west Arabia and from Zanzibar pushed ever further and further into Central Africa from the East coast until they reached the Upper Congo, where they established themselves as sultans amongst the negroes, and enslaved millions. Here and there they Muhammadanized a tribe like the Wa-yao, Manyema, or Awemba, whom they provided with muskets and made worse slave raiders than themselves. These slave raids in the districts of Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika, revealed to the world by Livingstone, greatly concentrated the attention of Great Britain on these regions, and one of the intentions of the British Government in establishing a protectorate in South-central Africa was the abolition of the slave trade, which was brought about by six years' campaigns with a tiny force of Indian soldiers[1], and the placing of several gunboats on Lake Nyasa. At the same time the Belgian officers of the Congo Free State had attacked and broken up the Arabs, who were expelled from the Congo. The Germans under the brilliant Major Von Wissmann had hung several Arab slave raiders in East-central Africa, and had completely broken up the traffic of the others. In short, though slavery still exists, avowed or disguised, in many parts of Africa, the slave trade is almost at an end, and slave raids

[1] Sikhs from the Indian Army. I have fully described these campaigns in my work on *British Central Africa.*

are confined to those regions in North-central Africa, which are for a few years yet to come wholly free from European intervention.

Abominable as the slave trade has been in filling Tropical Africa with incessant warfare and rapine, it has added much to our knowledge of that continent, and has been the excuse or cause of European intervention in many cases, resulting sometimes in a vastly improved condition of the natives when European rule has taken the place of that of Negro or Arab sultans. Its ravages will be soon repaired by a decade of peace and security during which this prolific, unextinguishable race will rapidly increase its numbers. Yet about the African slave trade, as with most other instinctive human procedure, and the movements of one race against another, there is an underlying sense of justice. The White and Yellow peoples have been the unconscious agents of the Power behind Nature in punishing the negro for his lazy backwardness. In this world Natural Law ordains that all mankind must work to a reasonable extent, must wrest from its environment sustenance for body and mind, and a bit over to start the children from a higher level than the parents. The races that will not work persistently and doggedly are trampled on, and in time displaced, by those who do. Let the Negro take this to heart; let him devote his fine muscular development in the first place to the setting of his own rank, untidy continent in order. If he will *not* work of his own free will, now that freedom of action is temporarily restored to him; if he will not till and manure and drain and irrigate the soil of his country in a steady, laborious way as do the Oriental and the European; if he will not apply himself zealously under European tuition to the development of the vast resources of Tropical Africa, where hitherto he has led the wasteful unproductive life of a baboon; then force of circumstances, the pressure of eager, hungry, impatient outside humanity, the converging energies of Europe and Asia will once more relegate the Negro to a

servitude which will be the alternative—in the coming struggle for existence—to extinction. The Negro has been given back his freedom that he may use it with a man's sense of responsibility for the waste of time and opportunities; not that he may squander away his existence with the heedlessness of those anthropoid apes to whom in a minute fractional proportion he is more nearly allied than are we, his present guardians.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BRITISH IN AFRICA, I.

(*West Coast, Morocco, North-Central.*)

FROM very early days in the history of the Portuguese monarchy close and friendly relations had been established between England and Portugal. A large body of English troops on their way out to the Crusades had assisted the first king of Portugal to capture Lisbon from the Moors in the 12th century. A later king of Portugal married a daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and his sons, among them the great Prince Henry the Navigator, were half English in blood. These friendly relations were no doubt partly to be accounted for by the French origin of both ruling houses.

Therefore, when the effect began to be felt in England of Portuguese discoveries in West Africa by the extension of the spice trade (hitherto a monopoly of Venice), and the dawning idea that negro slaves from Africa would be an excellent commodity for American plantations, British seamen-adventurers were prompt to follow in the path of the Portuguese. Curiously enough, the trade in spices seems to have been the first inducement, more powerful than gold or slaves. Englishmen had previously shipped on board Portuguese vessels before they ventured to sail to West Africa in craft of their own. Quite early in the 16th century several Englishmen thus found their way to Benin in company with the Portuguese. But their

proceedings were looked upon with suspicion, and friendly relations between the two nationalities soon cooled under the influence of rivalry in what the Portuguese would have liked to make their monopoly of West African trade. At the end of the reign of Edward VI (1553), and during that of Mary, English ships ventured out timidly to the Gambia, the Grain Coast, and even the Gold Coast of West Africa, bringing back gold, ivory, Guinea pepper[1] and "grains of Paradise[2]" for spice making. At first these ventures were rendered very hazardous by the hostility of the Portuguese; but when, in the latter part of the 16th century, Portugal was absorbed by Spain and Spain went to war with England, Queen Elizabeth had no hesitation in granting charters to two companies of merchant adventurers to trade with the West coast of Africa. In 1585 the first charter was granted to a body of London adventurers for the carrying on of commerce with Morocco and the Barbary States; in 1588 another charter was given to Devonshire merchants, who had been for some time previously endeavouring to trade on the Senegambia coast. Thus in 1588 were laid the foundations of the British settlement of the Gambia. This river, which was at first, and probably more accurately, known as the "Gambra," is remarkable among African rivers in that it has a mouth with a deep bar, which can be crossed at any time of the tide. Next to the Congo, it is probably the safest river to enter on all the West African coast; and as its navigability extends for over 200 miles into the interior of Senegambia, it is a very valuable means of access to the heart of the fertile regions of North-west Africa. When the British arrived on the Gambia, and for two centuries afterwards, the banks of the river were thickly studded with Portuguese trading settlements. Curiously enough, however, the Portuguese never seem to have made any difficulties about its passing

[1] Made from various aromatic seeds.

[2] The seeds of the *Amomum*, a zingiberaceous plant, allied to the banana.

under British control. It was the French from Senegal who made the most determined attempts to oust the British from the Gambia.

In 1592 Queen Elizabeth chartered a further association for trading on the coast between the Gambia and Sierra Leone. As regards the subsequent history of the Gambia, it may be mentioned that the first consolidated company formed to work the trade and administer the British settlements was incorporated in 1618, but it was not successful and the association following it also failed. In 1664 a fort, subsequently called Fort James, was built on the island of St Mary, off the south bank of the mouth of the Gambia. This was the nucleus of the present capital of Bathurst, named centuries after from the same Colonial Secretary whose name was given to the Australian town. In the 17th century the French made determined attacks on the Gambia, and in 1696 succeeded in destroying the British settlement, which however was reoccupied and restored four or five years later. During the 18th century the Gambia settlement became rich and prosperous owing to the slave trade. The Gambia was the starting place of the first serious British explorations in Western Africa and Nigeria. In 1783 the intermittent struggle with France was concluded by the French recognition of exclusive British trading rights on the Gambia, with the exception of the French factory at Albreda, in return for a similar concession to themselves of the commercial monopoly of the river Senegal; but as a set-off against the French factory on the Gambia the British retained the exclusive right to trade with the Moors of Portendik (near Cape Blanco) for gum. [In 1857 these two rights were exchanged.] During the Napoleonic wars England seized the French settlements at the mouth of the river Senegal, and British merchants went thither to trade. Upon the surrender of Senegal to France in 1817 these merchants left the Senegal and founded the town of Bathurst, now the capital of the Gambia colony. In 1807, this tiny colony, now

much impoverished by the abolition of the slave trade, was subjected to the newly-founded government of Sierra Leone. In 1843, its prosperity having somewhat revived owing to the growing trade in ground-nuts, and its area having been increased by various additions of territory along the banks of the river, it was rendered independent of Sierra Leone; but again in 1866 was attached to that colony until once more it was given a separate administration in 1888. In the early '70's' attempts had been made to assert British claims to the coast separating the Gambia and Sierra Leone, where Portuguese rule had lapsed; but Portugal having succeeded in asserting her claims (p. 44), the project was dropped, and during the period of discouragement which followed France was allowed to extend her sway over all the country on either side of the lower Gambia. Several times during the present century the project was mooted of exchanging the Gambia with France first for her possessions on the Gaboon coast, and later on for Porto Novo, and Grand Bassam. The first project, which would have ultimately given us French Congo, was opposed and defeated by the British merchants on the Gambia; and the second, which would have eventually led to a continuous British coast line from Sierra Leone to the Niger, was upset by the opposition of Marseilles trading houses at Porto Novo. In 1891 the best was made of a bad position, and a delimitation agreement was come to with France, which at any rate secured to Great Britain both banks of the river Gambia to the limits of its navigability.

The words "Sierra Leone" are a kind of compromise between Spanish, Italian and Portuguese due to the dull hearing and careless spelling of foreign names so characteristic of the English until the present generation. Projecting into the sea on this part of the coast (a coast otherwise flat and swampy) is a mountainous peninsula with bold hills facing the sea front. If these mountains are not sufficiently high to be the "Theion Ochema" of the Greek translators of Hanno's

journal, they were at any rate sufficiently striking to make an impression on the early Portuguese explorers, who dubbed them "Serra Leoa" or "Mountain Range of the Lioness," either because a lioness was killed there, or because the outlines of the range recalled the shape of a couchant lioness. The Spanish form would be Sierra Leona, and it was apparently the Spanish term that the English navigators adopted. The British hung about this coast with ideas of founding trading settlements and occasionally shipped slaves thence. Towards the end of the 18th century the fine harbour—the one good harbour on the West coast of Africa—attracted the attention of the British Government, who obtained the cession of the Sierra Leone peninsula in 1787. Four years later a charter was granted and the territory was transferred to a philanthropic association known as the "St George's Bay Company," which decided to establish in that part of West Africa a settlement for freed negro slaves from the West Indies and Canada.

Upon the granting of the charter the name was changed to the "Sierra Leone Company." To Sierra Leone were brought loyal free negroes, who had fought on the British side during the American War of Independence, and were therefore given their liberty, but whom it was thought better to deport to a climate more suitable to Africans than that of Canada. Then were sent out about 400 masterless negroes picked up in England after the judicial decision obtained by Granville Sharp as to the illegality of slavery in England. These were known as the "Granvilles." To them were added the "Maroons[1]"—Jamaica negroes mixed in a slight degree with the blood of the extinct West Indian natives, who had taken to the bush in Jamaica, and were making themselves troublesome. Further, as soon as Sierra Leone was adopted as the dumping ground of the slaves set free from the captured slave-

[1] 'Maroon' was a corruption of the Spanish "Cimarron," an outlaw frequenting the summits (Cimas) of the mountains.

trading ships, there were added to these ex-slaves of America and England the heterogeneous sweepings of West, Central, and South-east Africa, generally known as "Willyfoss Niggers," because their freedom was originally due to the exertions of Mr Wilberforce. Then of course there were the original Temne and Mendi inhabitants, so that altogether the negro population of modern Sierra Leone is an extraordinarily mixed stock, to which a large colony of Kruboys from the Liberian coast has since been added.

The philanthropic company which started this settlement had some quaint notions in its inception. Sixty London prostitutes were sent out to Sierra Leone to marry with the negroes and become honest women, while numbers of English, Dutch, and Swedes were invited to go there as free settlers, under the belief that West Africa was as suited for European colonization as Cape Colony. The result was of course that nearly all these European immigrants died a few years after their arrival, though not before they had left their impression upon the strangely mixed population of Sierra Leone.

In 1807 the rule of the colony was transferred to the Crown, and in 1821 Sierra Leone was for the first time joined with the Gold Coast and the Gambia into the "Colony of the West African Settlements." In 1843 the Gambia was detached, in 1866 joined again; and in 1874 the Gold Coast and Lagos were separated from the supreme control of Sierra Leone. Finally in 1888, the Gambia having been made a separate administration, Sierra Leone became an isolated colony. Between 1862 and 1864 its territory was considerably extended along the coast, and a treaty of delimitation with France in 1894, though it cut off the access of Sierra Leone to the Niger, still extended the influence of the colony a considerable distance inland. During the '80's' there were considerable difficulties with turbulent tribes, especially the 'Yonnis,' who were subdued by an expedition under Sir Francis de Winton; and during the present year, 1898, an

uprising of the natives of the interior in opposition to the suppression of the slave trade and the levying of a hut tax has seriously disturbed the colony.

Although British traders in gold and in slaves came in the wake of the Portuguese in the 16th century, they established no form of administration until 1672, when Charles II gave a charter to the Royal African Company and the monopoly of trade between Morocco and Cape Colony. The Royal African Company built forts at various places on the Gold Coast, and at Whyda[1] on the coast of Dahome. It was succeeded in 1750 by the African Company of merchants, a company subsidized by the Government, which continued to exist until 1821, at which date the British forts on the Gold Coast were placed under the government of the West African settlements, and the fort at Whyda was abandoned. In 1824, while on a tour of inspection, the Governor of Sierra Leone, Sir Charles Macarthy, landed at Cape Coast Castle, then the head-quarters of British administration on the Gold Coast, and unfortunately embarked on a war with the Ashanti without properly organized forces. He was defeated and killed. The Imperial Government carried on the war for three years, finally inflicting a defeat on the Ashanti near Accra, which led three years later to a peace. But this lengthy campaign had disgusted the Imperial Government with rule on the Gold Coast, and as soon as peace was concluded with the Ashanti they handed over these settlements to a committee of London merchants. This committee selected and sent out an excellent man as Governor—Mr Charles Maclean. This administrator contrived with a yearly subsidy of £4000 and a force of 100 police to extend British influence over an area nearly coincident with the present Gold Coast Colony. But in 1843 the rule of the merchants was replaced once more by that of the Crown, though Maclean was taken into the service of the new Imperial administration.

[1] Properly 'Hwida.'

The Danes and Swedes in the full swing of the slave trade had established forts on the Gold Coast in the 17th and 18th centuries respectively to supply their West Indian islands with slaves. The Swedes soon abandoned their trading forts, but Denmark still retained four down to the middle of the 19th century, all of which she then sold to England in 1850 for £10,000. For the same modest payment Denmark transferred to England the protectorate over a considerable area to the east of the Gold Coast Colony, along the river Volta. The Dutch during the 17th and 18th centuries had planted forts on the Gold Coast in rivalry with the English, and in most cases alongside of them. After the abolition of the slave trade Holland lost interest in her West African possessions. Their existence was very awkward to the English, as it prevented the collection of customs duties. In 1868 a partition of the coast was negotiated between England and Holland, the Dutch taking over all the forts west of a certain line, and the English those which lay to the east of this boundary. In this manner the English acquired at last the whole of the town of Accra, which is now the capital of the Gold Coast. In 1871–2 the Dutch agreed to abandon to the English all their remaining possessions on the Gold Coast in return for the cession of certain British claims over Sumatra and Java. Unfortunately, the transfer of territory from the Dutch entailed a quarrel with the powerful negro kingdom of Ashanti, situated behind the coast tribes of this region but striving always to reach the sea. The Ashanti kingdom was rather a confederacy of small negro states, with the King of Kumasi at its head, than a homogeneous monarchy. In 1872 this paramount King of Kumasi despatched an army of 40,000 men to invade the British Protectorate and assert his claim to domination over the Fanti tribes of the colony. A large force of Fantis was to some extent armed and organized by the British Government, but the Ashantis defeated them twice with great slaughter, and then attacked the British fort of

Elmina, where the Ashanti army sustained such a serious repulse that it avoided any further attacks on British fortified settlements. A year afterwards, Sir John Glover (as he subsequently became) marched with Hausa levies to attack the Ashanti from the east, while Sir Garnet Wolseley[1], arriving in the winter of 1873 with a strong expedition composed of British soldiers, contingents of the West Indian regiments, British seamen, and marines, drove the enemy back into their country, reached the capital, Kumasi, and captured and burned that place. A somewhat dubious peace was arrived at, the king never afterwards fulfilling the terms of the treaty, which he was supposed to have signed with a pencil cross; and for twenty-one years to follow British relations with Ashanti (which was also devastated by civil war) were unsatisfactory. At last in 1895 another strong expedition marched on the capital without firing a shot and took the king prisoner. The result has been that thenceforth Ashanti has been administered by the government of the Gold Coast.

Although the Gold Coast is perhaps the most unhealthy of the British West African possessions, it is prosperous in its finances, and has made great progress in trade. In the last ten years the total value of its trade has more than doubled, and stands now at £1,500,000 in approximate yearly value.

The colony of Lagos came into existence in 1863[2]. It was afterwards added to the government of the West African Settlements, then attached to the Gold Coast; and finally in 1886 made an independent colony. Lagos, as its name shows, was originally a discovery of the Portuguese, who so named it from the large lagoon, which until recently was a harbour of very doubtful value, even on this harbourless coast, but is now by a vast expenditure of money rendered safe for exit and entrance at high tide. In the days of the early Portuguese adventurers the modern territory of Lagos was partly under

[1] Afterwards Viscount Wolseley.

[2] The territory was ceded in 1861.

the influence of Dahome, partly under the rule of Benin; and the Portuguese and subsequently the British came there to buy slaves which native warfare rendered so abundant. In prosecuting the crusade against the slave trade in the middle of the present century the British Government came into contact with the king of Lagos, who had become one of the most truculent slave traders on the coast. This king, Kosoko, was expelled by a British naval expedition in 1851, and his cousin was placed on the throne after having made a treaty with the British binding himself to put down the slave trade. A British consul was appointed to superintend the execution of this treaty, but neither the king who signed it nor the son who succeeded him kept faithfully to its provisions. At length, in 1861, the king of Lagos ceded his state to the British Government in return for a pension of £1000 a year, which he drew until his death twenty-four years later. Under British rule Lagos attained remarkable prosperity, though unhappily its extremely unhealthy climate has caused great loss of life amongst the officials appointed to administer the colony. Owing to the great commercial movement in its port (the adaptation of which to ocean-going steamers proved very difficult and very expensive) it is called, with some justice, the "Liverpool of West Africa."

At any time between the annexation of Lagos and, say, 1880, the small strip of coast which separates Lagos from the Gold Coast might easily have been taken under British protection, the only power with any intervening rights being Portugal with one fort on the coast of Dahome; but the Home Government would never agree to this procedure until it was too late and France and Germany had intervened. Latterly, during the last fourteen years, there was growing trouble with France owing to her extending her protection or colonization over the little kingdom of Porto Novo and the large negro state of Dahome. These disputes as to delimitation of the frontier were settled in 1889 as far north as the

9th parallel. Then ensued in 1897 and 1898 a strenuous attempt on the part of the French to cut across the Lagos hinterland up to the Niger, but this difference has again been happily solved by the Convention signed between the two countries in the summer of this year (1898).

Beyond Lagos, and indeed connected with it by half choked-up creeks, begins the great delta of the Niger, which extends along an elbow of the coast about 200 miles to the eastward, and ends—so far as direct connection with the Niger is concerned—at the mouth of the river Kwo-ibo, though there are possibly creeks inside the coast-line which would carry on the connection of the delta to the Old Calabar river. These innumerable branches of the Niger estuary were taken to be independent rivers (which indeed they are to some extent, receiving as they do many streams rising independently of the main Niger) until well into the present century, when it was at last made clear that they constituted the outlets of the third greatest river of Africa. Together with the adjoining rivers of Old Calabar and the Cameroons, they became known as the "Oil Rivers," because they produced the greater part and the best quality of the palm oil sent to the European market. The Portuguese first came here in the 17th and 18th centuries (after falling out with the king of Benin) to trade in slaves, and the English followed them at the end of the 18th century and displaced them altogether. Evidence of former Portuguese interest in the Niger Delta is sufficiently shown by the fact that some of these rivers have Portuguese names, or Portuguese corruptions of native names. The remaining names are chiefly those of naval officers or ships that surveyed them, or occasionally a native name more or less corrupted.

By the time the slave trade was rendered illegal, the wonderful virtues of palm oil had been discovered, chiefly in connection with its value as a lubricant for machinery, especially locomotives. It is also of especial value for making candles and soap. Therefore the development of railways in England

and other European countries, the new cleanliness, which coincidently was preached as a British gospel, and the spread of education and love of reading made the fortune of the Oil Rivers and those merchants who settled there at imminent risk of death from fever. Already in the '40's British trading interests had become so important in the Niger Delta that a consul was appointed. The British Government, for the purpose of putting down the slave trade, had, with the consent of Spain, occupied during the first half of the 19th century the Spanish island of Fernando Po, and the administration of this island was for some time connected with the consular post for the Bights of Biafra and Benin. Afterwards, when Spain resumed the possession of Fernando Po, the British consul for the Bights was also consul for the Spanish island; but little by little his duties obliged him to reside more on the Oil Rivers than on the adjoining island. With the exception of the brilliant Richard Burton, who for four years was consul for the Bights of Biafra and Benin, the post was usually held by a gentleman who had been to some extent previously connected with African trade, and whose purview was not much extended politically; but in 1880 the late Mr E. H. Hewett, C.M.G. (formerly Vice-Consul in Angola, and brother of the late Admiral Hewett), a man of some distinction, was appointed to the post. He took up his residence at Old Calabar, and his reports aroused great interest in the Government of that period, which was disposed to accede to the petitions of the chiefs and to take all the coast under British protection from Lagos to the Gaboon. But the plans of the Ministry were not fully settled until the end of 1883, and when Mr Hewett returned to the coast with full powers he was slightly delayed by ill-health and still more so by the beginning of the Niger Question, and the importance of securing a hold over the lower Niger. Consequently, the German Government, taking advantage of Mr Hewett's difficulties, suddenly pounced on the Cameroons, though only a very small portion of the Cameroons river was

actually secured by the German envoy. By dint of rapid movements, the British flag was erected over all the remaining territory in the Oil Rivers district. Had the German Government been taken literally, and merely allowed to hold the four or five square miles of territory it had legally secured, its action in forestalling Mr Hewett would have been scarcely noticed; but Germany was determined to have a large slice of West Africa, and the British Government, being embarrassed by difficulties elsewhere in foreign affairs, had to withdraw its flag eventually from the vicinity of the Cameroons river and mountain. The last patch of Cameroons territory which was given up to Germany was the interesting little settlement of Ambas Bay on the flanks of the mighty Cameroons mountain, founded by the English Baptist Mission when expelled from Fernando Po. Mr Hewett annexed this territory in 1884, and the author of this book administered it from 1885 until the time of its surrender to Germany in 1887.

The limits of the Oil Rivers Protectorate were then drawn at the Rio del Rey on the east, and the boundary of Lagos Colony on the west. The eastern boundary was subsequently extended by agreement with Germany to the upper waters of the river Benue and to the shores of Lake Chad. This acquisition—now known as the Niger Coast Protectorate—was at first administered by consular authority and by the author of this book, who found himself obliged to face a serious difficulty in the determined opposition of certain coast chiefs to the carrying on of direct trade with the interior. These were the "middle men," who had for several centuries prevented the penetration of Africa from the West coast by Europeans, in the dread that they would lose their lucrative commission on the products of the interior which they retailed on the coast. Some of these chiefs were of long established ruling families; others again had commenced life as slaves and had risen to be wealthy merchant-kings with incomes of £30,000 to £50,000 a year, derived from their profits on the goods from the interior which passed through their hands. Foremost

among these obstructive individuals was Ja-Ja, a slave from the Ibo country, who as servant, trader and counsellor to chiefs of Bonny had risen to such a position of wealth and influence that he had armed a large force of fighting men and a flotilla of war canoes, and made himself the most powerful chief in the Niger Delta. He resided on the river Opobo, and was very jealous of his independence, only signing a qualified treaty of protection with the British Government from the well-grounded fear that if he did not do so the French would take his country as an access to the Niger. As Ja-Ja at last went to the length of forcible opposition to trade between the British merchants and the natives of the interior, the present writer was compelled to remove him to the Gold Coast to be tried before a commissioner. As a result of the trial he was deposed and sentenced to five years' banishment in the West Indies. He did not live to return to his country; but with his disappearance the principal resistance of the middle-men was broken, though at Benin and behind Old Calabar similar action has had to be taken to secure free trade.

The Niger Coast Protectorate is now governed to all intents and purposes like a Crown colony, though for the time being it is still under the direction of the Foreign Office.

So much for the delta of the Niger. A keen rivalry had taken place about the same time between Great Britain and France for the possession of that great stream above the delta. The Niger had been discovered from its source to the last rapid at the head of its seaward navigability by Mungo Park, one of the greatest of British explorers. The rest of the exploration from Busa to the sea had been completed by other British travellers; from the point of view of discovery the whole Niger was British from source to mouth. The navigation of the river from the sea to above its confluence with the Benue was first organized by a Scotchman, MacGregor Laird, in 1832; and in 1841, 1854 and 1857 the British Government despatched various expeditions to explore and make treaties; they also established a consul (Dr Baikie) to reside at Lokoja,

where the Benue meets the Niger. The loss of life from the effects of the climate was so great in those days that the British Government became discouraged. The consulate at Lokoja was abolished in 1866, and on the other hand no attempt whatever was made to attach to the interior of Sierra Leone the rich countries lying beyond the sources of the Niger. But for independent action on the part of British traders the Niger would have become either entirely French, or in the main a French river with a German estuary. During the '80's' the French Government of Senegal pushed forward to the Upper Niger. Earlier still, by the influence of Gambetta, two powerful French politico-commercial companies were formed to establish trading houses all along the Lower Niger. In spite of much discouragement, however, the numerous British firms that traded with the Niger had stuck to the river; but although they were doing a great deal of trade their profits were reduced by excessive competition. The hour had come to strike for the Niger; where was the man? A Captain George Goldie Taubman[1] (a Royal Engineers officer) had been left several thousand pounds' worth of shares in one of these small Niger Companies. Having spent some time in Egypt, he resolved to go to the Niger and see whether his shares were worth retaining. Like an analogous great man in South Africa, he decided on working for amalgamation. With untiring energy and great tact he brought about the consolidation of all the British companies trading on the Niger. Then he bought out the French company, discouraged as they were by Gambetta's death, and boldly applied to the Imperial Government for a charter, being able to show them that no other trading firm but his own existed on the Niger. England was just about to take part at that time in the Conference of Berlin. She lost the Congo but won the Niger. When the British claim to a protectorate was acceded to in principle at the Berlin Conference, a charter was granted to the National

[1] Afterwards Sir George Taubman Goldie.

African Company founded by Captain, now the Right Hon. Sir George Taubman Goldie, who changed the name of his association to that of the Royal Niger Company. The main course of the river Niger down to the sea was placed under the administration of this chartered company, but the Benin district to the West, and the Brass, Bonny, Opobo, and Old Calabar districts to the East were, as already related, eventually organized as the Niger Coast Protectorate under direct Imperial administration, because in these countries the Niger Company had no predominating interests. In all probability the administration of the Niger and of the Niger Coast will one day be unified and possibly joined with the neighbouring colony of Lagos.

When Sir George Goldie's Company had expended nearly all its available capital in buying out the French and purchasing governing rights from the native chiefs (all of which expenditure would have been unnecessary if their Government had adopted at the first the bold policy of declaring the Lower Niger a British Protectorate), a fresh obstacle had to be overcome: German rivalry came into play. The Germans had just taken the Cameroons but had failed to secure the Oil Rivers. Herr Flegel was sent to obtain concessions beyond the limits of the Royal Niger Company's immediate jurisdiction in the Nigerian Sudan. But Flegel was forestalled in his principal object by the explorer Joseph Thompson, who most ably conducted a mission to the court of the emperor of Sokoto, and secured a treaty with that important Fula potentate which brought his territories under exclusive British influence. In 1890 British claims to a vast Niger empire were recognized by France and Germany. Unhappily the French recognition was allowed to remain too vague in regard to the northern and western boundaries of British Nigeria, thus rendering it possible for France in the ensuing eight years to strive to cut into the British sphere from two directions, if not three. On the north it was sought to push back the boundary of the empire of Sokoto, so as to bring the French sphere as

far as possible to the south, though this assertion went little beyond map-making. On the south, Lieutenant Mizon made the most persistent, hostile, and, as it would seem, unpractical attempts to secure for France a large sphere of influence on the river Benue, which could hardly be approached from French territory because the German sphere would stand in the way. Finally as the delimitation in the Anglo-French agreement of 1890 merely carried the British boundary from Lake Chad to Say on the middle Niger, and did not provide a western boundary, the French (though unofficially according us in 1890 a straight line drawn from Say due south to the boundary between Lagos and Dahome) gradually pushed their acquisitions eastward from Senegambia until they had secured all the right bank of the Middle and Lower Niger as far as Busa, which is at the end of the Niger cataracts and at the commencement of its navigability seawards. A British protectorate over Busa had been announced to France in 1894, so that this act on the part of the French was a distinct trespass on British rights and caused considerable excitement at the time; but, as may be seen by the recently signed convention, the French finally yielded to British claims. They had some time before tacitly disowned the enterprise of Lieutenant Mizon, which had been rendered the more hopeless, firstly by the agreement between England and Germany in 1893 (which provided for a continuous Anglo-German boundary from the Rio del Rey on the coast to the southern shores of Lake Chad), and secondly by the subsequent Franco-German agreement of 1894 by which a wedge of German territory was interposed between the French claims in Congo-land and on the river Shari, and the British sphere on the Benue; though nevertheless the Germans admitted the French to a point on the extreme upper waters of the Benue in return for German access to one of the Congo tributaries.

Besides being hampered by the conflicting ambitions of other European powers, the Niger Company has had to conduct a

very important campaign against the Amir of Nupe. Like most great Muhammadan empires, Sokoto consisted of a bundle of vassal states owing a varying degree of allegiance to the dominant power. The fact is that British Nigeria contains four important, slightly civilized negro peoples, and an indefinite number of savage tribes who are politically of no account whatever. These four great peoples are the Songhai on the North-west, the Hausa occupying all the centre, the Bornu or Kanuri on the North-east, and the Nupe on the South-west. Over three of these (excepting the Kanuri) the Fula conquests of a century ago had established Fula rule with its head-quarters in the Hausa States. But the kingdom of Nupe, though ruled by a Fula dynasty, held its allegiance to the court of Sokoto but cheaply, and requested at the hands of the Niger Company a recognition of its complete independence, which for political reasons the Company could not give. This powerful kingdom, however, stood in the way of all access to Sokoto, and in its defiance of the Niger Company raided for slaves far down on the Lower Niger. Unless a way was to be opened for successful foreign intrigue by allowing Nupe to assert its independence of Sokoto and the Royal Niger Company, it was necessary to subdue its pretensions. Therefore Sir George Goldie, with the aid of a well chosen staff of British officers, of Hausa troops and machine guns, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Fula forces of Nupe, captured their capital, and successfully asserted the sovereign rights of the Company as conferred on them by the Sultan of Sokoto. Subsequently other turbulent and slave-raiding tribes were dealt with, and the Company is gradually rendering itself master of a great empire in West-central Africa, which it will in time hand over to direct Imperial administration.

Interest in these regions of the Western Sudan was evinced by the British Government early in the present century, and it was at the expense of our country that numerous expeditions set out from Tripoli across the Sahara Desert to discover Lake

Chad and to reveal the existence of the river Benue. At one time British influence was so strong with the semi-independent Basha of Tripoli, that it seemed possible that British protection might be accorded to that state, seeing that France in a similar manner had ignored equally valid Turkish claims to the suzerainty of Algiers. But the uprising of Muhammad Ali in Egypt awakened the Turks to the necessity of reenforcing their claims to Tripoli, and British projects in that direction were abandoned.

As regards Morocco, the Portuguese fortress of Tangier had been ceded to England in 1662, the British having desired it as giving them a port of call close to the Straits of Gibraltar. It was found difficult however to maintain it against the continual attacks of the Moors, and it was therefore surrendered to the Emperor of Morocco in 1684; though it is pretty generally understood that were the Empire of Morocco to break up or come under the influence of a European power, Tangier would be re-occupied by England. During the long period in which the late Sir John Drummond Hay represented England at the court of Morocco British influence not only saved that country from conquest by France and by Spain, but made it almost a vassal state of the British Empire, as was the case with Zanzibar under Sir John Kirk, and Tunis under Sir Richard Wood. A British factory was established, without much encouragement, it is said, from the British Government, at Cape Juby, opposite the Canary Islands, on a stretch of coast to the south of Morocco, which was without definite attachment to any recognized state. It seemed at one time as though the establishment of this trading company might lead to some assertion of British political rights, but other counsels prevailed, and at the instigation of the British Government the Sultan of Morocco acquired the company's rights, and took under his flag the coast between the river Draa and the boundary of the Spanish Rio de Oro protectorate, which begins a little distance to the south of Cape Juby.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FRENCH IN WEST AND NORTH AFRICA.

It has been asserted with some degree of probability that certain seamen-adventurers of Dieppe found their way along the West coast of Africa as far as the Gold Coast in the 14th century, a hundred years before the Portuguese; and that they established themselves on the Senegal river, built two settlements (Little Paris, and Little Dieppe) on the Liberian coast, and established trading stations at "La Mine d'Or" (Elmina), at Accra, and at Kormantin, on the Gold Coast. The Dieppois station at Elmina was said to have been founded in 1382, but forty years later, owing to the wars in France having distracted Norman commerce from over-sea enterprise, these settlements were abandoned. There may have been some truth in these accounts of Norman discoveries on the West coast of Africa. A Norman adventurer undoubtedly discovered the Canary Islands in the 14th century, and it is probable that the Rio d'Ouro was known to Italian seamen before it was placed on the map by the Portuguese. When, three centuries later, the French founded a settlement at the mouth of the Senegal, they are said to have discovered the remains of a Norman fort (built there by these adventurers from Dieppe) and to have made it the nucleus of the modern town of St Louis.

At any rate, soon after the Portuguese had laid bare the coast of Guinea, ships began to sail from the Norman ports to resume or to commence the West African trade, though no

attempt was made to found any political settlements; for in the matter of founding colonies in Africa, France was considerably behind Portugal, Holland, and England. However, a young Frenchman named Claude Jannequin de Rochefort was pacing the quays at Dieppe in 1637 with vague aspirations to be "another Cortes." Happening to ask where a certain ship was going, and being told in reply that she was bound for the "Senaga" river in Africa, near Cape de Verde, he instantly resolved to go, and before many hours were over was entered on the ship's book as a soldier; he afterwards performed the duties of clerk to the captain. It would seem that this vessel, which had not only soldiers but monks on board, must have been despatched by some far-seeing authority, since before the Sieur de Rochefort joined its company it had been determined to stop on the West African coast north of the Senegal river, cut down trees, build a small boat, and use it to explore the Senegal. This plan had been formulated in complete ignorance of the fact that the coast north of the Senegal and south of Morocco contains no timber for boat-building. Finding this to be the case, the Dieppe expedition, under the command of Captain Lambert, with the Sieur de Rochefort among its soldiers, went on to the Senegal and put together a small boat out of timber they had brought from France. Into this small vessel they transferred a portion of their crew, including De Rochefort, and the Senegal river was explored for 110 miles from its mouth. Although the Dieppe adventurers were said to have built a fort on the site of St Louis in 1360, and the Portuguese had a few trading posts on its lower reaches in the 15th century, there were no Europeans on the river when it was visited by De Rochefort, though the Dutch had established stations on the coast not far off. After obtaining concessions from the natives, Captain Lambert's expedition returned to France (experiencing many delays and adventures on the way), and six years after he had started from Dieppe De Rochefort published an interesting account of their adventures.

But this pioneer expedition was not soon followed up, owing to the hostility of the Dutch. The Norman Company sold its rights to the French West India Company, and the latter again transferred them to a subsidiary association afterwards called the "Royal Senegal Company." This last-named corporation sent out a very able man to attend to its affairs—André de Brüe—who made his head-quarters at Fort St Louis, which had been founded by De Rochefort's party. This remarkable person, Brüe, combined the qualities of a man of science and a far-sighted trader, and he may be said to have really laid the foundations of the French empire in West Africa. Brüe made two important journeys up the Senegal and into the interior. He remained eighteen years on the coast of Senegal, and visited the Gambia in 1700, finding English, Portuguese, and Spanish there, the first named trading at the mouth of the river, and the two last settled some distance up its course as flourishing slave traders. According to Brüe, the Portuguese slave trading settlements exhibited some degree of civilization, but also of rowdiness among the European element, not unlike the proceedings of the "Mohocks" in the streets of London. In his writings Brüe expresses his amazement at the enormous number of bees inhabiting the mangrove swamps and coast lands of Guinea. In the early part of the 18th century Brüe sent out agents to extend French influence up the Senegal and towards the "Gold" country of Bambuk, the mountainous region on the upper Senegal. Brüe finally returned to France in 1715 and lived quietly for a long time afterwards on the large fortune he had accumulated. His is a name to be well remembered in the annals of the French Empire. He was a far-sighted, cultivated man, who had also the gift of choosing and employing good associates. Among these may be mentioned the Sieur Campagnon, the beau-ideal of a good-tempered, good-looking, supple, kind-hearted, valorous Frenchman. Only the charm of Campagnon's winning ways enabled him to penetrate the recesses of Bambuk,

whose secrets as a gold-bearing country were jealously guarded by the natives. One little incident of Campagnon's life on the Senegal depicts his disposition. Walking round the outskirts of St Louis he came across an unfortunate lioness that had belonged to an inhabitant of the town, but had been thrown out on the rubbish heaps to die. The unfortunate beast had been suffering from some malady of the jaw which would not permit mastication, and was therefore nearly dead from hunger. When Campagnon saw the lioness her eyes were glazing and her mouth was full of ants and dirt. He took pity on the unfortunate creature, washed her mouth and throat clean, and fed her with milk. This saved her life, and the grateful animal conceived a warm affection for him, and would afterwards follow him about like a dog and take food from no one else. Dr Robert Brown, who unearthed this charming anecdote, further informs us that after his romantic career in Africa Campagnon returned to France, and died after a long and prosperous life, a master mason and undertaker in Paris.

The French continued to develop their Senegal settlements with some prosperity until 1758, when they were captured by the British, who held them until 1778, and acquired them again for a time by the peace of 1783; after this they were in British hands a few years longer, but were French again by 1790. In 1800 the British took the island of Goree, which the French had acquired from the Dutch at the end of the 17th century (from whom also they had taken Arguin, a little island near Cape Blanco, in 1721). By the peace of 1783 the English had secured from the French the exclusive right to trade with the Arabs or Moors of Portendik for grain. Portendik was a place on the Senegal coast about 120 miles north of St Louis. All the French possessions in Senegal which were held by the British from time to time during the Napoleonic wars were given back to France at the peace of 1815, though at that time the British hold over the Gambia was more clearly defined (the French only retaining one post

on that river, given up in 1857 in return for the British trade monopoly with Portendik). The French had already resumed their explorations of Senegambia at the end of the 18th century, and after the final recovery of the Senegal river in 1817 these researches were pushed with some degree of ardour. In 1818 Mollien discovered the sources of the Gambia, and De Beaufort explored the country of Kaarta. In 1827 René Caillié started from the river Nunez with help derived from the colony of Sierra Leone (for which he was subsequently very ungrateful) and descended the Niger to Timbuktu, thence making his way across the desert to Morocco. His journey, however, did not do much to lure the French Nigerwards at that time, especially as a great Fula conqueror had arisen, El Hadj 'Omar, whose conquests not only blocked the way to the Niger, but later on threatened the very existence of the French settlements on the Senegal. But after a long period of inaction and lack of interest, the French colony of the Senegal was to receive great extension. General Faidherbe, who for political reasons was rather distrusted by the newly-formed Second Empire, was exiled to Senegal in 1854 in the guise of an appointment as Governor-General. He was a man of great enterprise and intelligence, and immediately began to study the resources and extension of the Senegal colony. He first punished severely the Moorish tribes to the north of the river Senegal, who had again and again raided the settled country. Before he had been a year in Senegambia, Faidherbe had annexed the Wuli country, and had built the fort of Medina to oppose the progress of El Hadj 'Omar. 'Omar sent an army of 20,000 men against Medina, but they were repulsed by the officer in command, and finally had to retreat before Faidherbe's advance. Following on the repulse of the Fulas came the annexation of many countries along the Upper Senegal, and in the direction of the Gambia. A year later the country between St Louis and the mouth of the Gambia, past Cape Verde, had been annexed. Then the Casamanse river, between

the Gambia and Portuguese Guinea, was taken; then, in the '60's,' the coast between Portuguese Guinea and Sierra Leone was added to the French possessions, under the name of "Rivières du Sud."

A suspension of French activity occurred after the disastrous Franco-German war, but it was resumed again in 1880. Captain Galliéni surveyed the route for a railway to connect the navigable Senegal with the Upper Niger, which he reached in that year at Bamaku. But he and other French officers had to contend with the imposing forces of king Ahmadu, the son and successor of El Hadj 'Omar, who ruled over the country between the upper Senegal and the Niger. However Ahmadu's capital of Kita was taken by Colonel Desbordes, and a treaty was made with Ahmadu which placed his territory under French protection. By 1883 the post of Bamaku on the Upper Niger had been definitely founded and fortified. The French then came into conflict with the forces of Samori, a negro (probably Mandingo) king who had risen from a very humble position to that of conqueror and ruler of the countries about the source of the Niger. Both Samori and Ahmadu commanded hordes of Muhammadan negroes, whose conquests were often undertaken from propagandist motives, and who were to some extent in sympathy with the Muhammadan tribes of the Lower Niger. Roughly speaking, Ahmadu may be said to represent the dying Fula power on the western Niger—that power which at the beginning of this century founded an empire stretching from the Senegal to Lake Chad and the Benue—while Samori's forces were mainly recruited from among the Mandingo races, Muhammadan negroes who have long played a very important part in the commerce and development of West Africa. In 1885–6 a campaign was undertaken by Colonel Frey against Samori, which did something to check the power of that raiding chief. Subsequently the French had to suppress a formidable insurrection among the Muhammadan populations of the newly protected countries.

In 1887 Colonel Galliéni returned, and made a further and more ample treaty with Ahmadu. He constructed a railway round the cataracts of the Senegal. He also concluded another treaty with Samori by which the latter recognized as under French rule a small portion of the Upper Niger. Galliéni further despatched Lieutenant Caron in 1887 to visit Timbuktu on a gunboat. Caron reached the port of Timbuktu (Kabara), but the hostility of the natives prevented his visiting the city, and he returned without effecting more than an ominous reconnaissance. In 1881 France had taken, somewhat forcibly, Futa-jalon, the home of the Fulas[1], under her protection. This treaty in 1887 was extended and ratified. The British had been repeatedly invited to extend their protection to Futa-jalon, but had declined, though at one time it would have been easy enough to have connected the colonies of the Gambia and Sierra Leone, through this mountainous region. In 1888 Captain Binger commenced an exploring journey for France which had the most remarkable results. He was the first to enter the unknown country included within the great northern bend of the Niger. He secured by treaty French protection over Tieba, Kong, and other countries lying between the Niger and the Ivory Coast. In 1890–91 Ahmadu, the Fula king, had been attempting to shake himself free from French control. Colonel Archinard conducted campaigns against him which ended in adding to the French Senegalese dominions Kaarta, Bakhunu and Segu, and thus freed from obstruction the road to Timbuktu. Later on Colonel Archinard defeated the raider-king Samori and occupied his capital, Bisandugu, near the frontiers of Liberia. Samori then moved further to the east, thus coming into contact with the advanced

[1] The Fulas—a most interesting race—are negroid rather than negro in physical type and seem to be the result of a cross between the Berbers of the Sahara and the negroes of the Sudan; they dwelt originally in the countries north of the Senegal, but crossing that river they seized on Futa-jalon as their home.

posts of the Gold Coast colony. An attempt was made in 1894–5 to attack him in his new kingdom, and Colonel Monteil (who had previously journeyed from Senegal to the Niger, and from the Niger to Bornu, and thence overland to Tripoli) led a military expedition against him from the Ivory Coast. Colonel Monteil was very unsuccessful, and was recalled by the French Government. Finally in the autumn of 1898, Lieutenant Woelfel and other French officers advancing from the Ivory Coast inflicted the most crushing defeats on Samori's forces and reduced his power to a nullity.

During the reign of Louis Philippe a somewhat feeble revival of colonial enterprise had taken place, during which France made half-hearted attempts to establish herself in New Zealand, and secured New Caledonia and Tahiti in the Pacific. At this time also she thought of extending her possessions in unoccupied districts along the West Coast of Africa, and had acquired rights over Grand Bassam and Assini to the west of the British Gold Coast. During the '60's some efforts were made by the Second Empire to stake out claims in Africa, and Porto Novo was accorded French protection in 1868. These claims however had been allowed to lapse to some degree, and the places acquired would at one time have been willingly handed over to England for a small compensation. But in the scramble for Africa that commenced in 1884 they suddenly acquired immense value in the eyes of the French as footholds upon which to commence an expansion northwards from the Gulf of Guinea to the Niger empire of which France had begun to dream. In 1884 therefore Grand Bassam and Assini, on the Gold Coast, and Porto Novo, a tiny little vassal kingdom of Dahome, were effectively occupied. The journey of Captain Binger from the Niger to the Gold Coast gave Grand Bassam a hinterland, and the consequence was that the Ivory Coast between Grand Bassam and Liberia was annexed by France in 1891. Hitherto this coast, the interior of which was then and is still one of the least known

parts of Africa, had been of great importance to British trade, which was carried on chiefly by Bristol sailing ships. Moreover, from the Ivory Coast come the bulk of the celebrated Kru-boys, who are the best labour obtainable along the West Coast of Africa from the Gambia to the Orange River. Nevertheless, although the petty chiefs of the Ivory Coast had often offered their friendship and vassalage to Great Britain, no steps were taken on the part of the British Government, and therefore no protest was offered when France annexed the Ivory Coast and became next neighbour to Liberia. In 1894 a somewhat stringent treaty was concluded between France and Liberia, by which, in the event of the latter coming under the influence or protection of any other power, France would have the reversion of much of her hinterland. The occupation of Porto Novo soon led to a quarrel with Dahome, a kingdom of singular bloodthirstiness, which had defied both England and Portugal at different times, and had laughed at our futile blockades of its coast. After a preliminary occupation of the Dahomean coast towns and the imposition of a somewhat doubtful French suzerainty, the king, Behanzin, compelled the French to make their action more effective. A well-equipped expedition was sent out in 1893 under General Dodds, who had conducted the first operations in 1891. For the first time Dahome was invaded by a well-organized European force, and after a fierce struggle the entire kingdom was overrun and conquered, and the king was captured and sent to the West Indies.

In the mean time, the French forces marching step by step along the upper Niger captured the important town of Jenne in 1893—Jenne, the home of Nigerian civilization, and the mother of Timbuktu. From Jenne Colonel Archinard directed a march to be made to Timbuktu—it is said, without or contrary to orders from the Governor of Senegambia. Two squadrons marched overland, and a river flotilla of gunboats under Commandant Boiteux steamed to the port of

Timbuktu, Kabara. The flotilla of gunboats and lighters arrived at Kabara in advance of the military forces, and caused considerable perturbation in Timbuktu. The civilized inhabitants of the town were willing to surrender it to the French, only fearing their hated masters—the Tawareq. The Tawareq, however, hearing of the coming of the land expedition, left the town to meet it, and the Niger being remarkably high, Lieutenant Boiteux was actually able to take two lighters armed with machine guns up the back water, which in seasons of flood reaches the walls of Timbuktu. After a little deliberation the town surrendered to the French. Shortly afterwards the Tawareq returned and attacked the naval station formed at Kabara on the Niger, killing a midshipman. Lieutenant Boiteux, hearing that firing was going on, rode out of Timbuktu with one other European, accompanied by his little garrison on foot, arrived at Kabara and routed the Tawareq. This was a truly gallant action, worthy to be recorded. After standing a short siege in Timbuktu, and making a successful sortie, the little naval expedition was relieved from the anxiety of its position by the arrival of the first column under Colonel Bonnier on the 14th of January, 1894. Timbuktu was thus captured by the French with nineteen men, seven of whom were French, and the remainder Senegalese negroes. But a slight reverse was to follow. Over-rash, Colonel Bonnier started with a small force to reconnoitre the country round Timbuktu, and rid the neighbourhood of the Tawareq. Too confident, they marched into a trap. Their camp was surprised by the Tawareq at early dawn, and almost all the French troops were massacred, only three French officers and a handful of men escaping to tell the tale. Twenty-five days afterwards, a second column under Colonel Jouffre arrived on the scene, and collected the remains of the unfortunate Frenchmen for interment at Timbuktu. It then set out to follow up the Tawareq, whom the French surprised in turn at night in their encampment, and of whom Colonel Jouffre believed his soldiers to have slain

many. From that time the French have had no serious fighting near Timbuktu. French merchants are established there already and French missionaries—the White Fathers—from Algeria. A curious episode in the French conquest was an appeal, when hearing of the French approach, by the notables of Timbuktu to the Emperor of Morocco to intervene. After a year's delay the Moroccan Sultan replied that upon receiving proofs of the vassalage of Timbuktu he would march upon the French and drive them away.

Subsequently the French patrolled the Niger far to the south of Timbuktu, and found it much more navigable than they believed. They established a post at Say, and Lieutenant Hourst explored that small portion of the river between Say and Gomba which till then remained marked by dotted lines on the map. Numerous expeditions came across the bend of the Niger from its upper waters to its middle course, incessantly making treaties and extending the rule of France. Again, following on the conquest of Dahome, the French marched northwards across the 9th parallel, which had hitherto marked the limitation between the French and British possessions, and occupied the country of Nikki, which had previously been acquired for the Royal Niger Company by Major, now Colonel, Lugard, C.B. A bolder step still was taken by the occupation of Busa (already declared to be a British protectorate), at a time when Sir George Goldie and his forces were winning victories over the forces of Nupe in the vicinity. This step however roused such a strong expression of popular feeling in England that a conference was formed in Paris to negotiate a settlement between England and France, and eventually France gave way on the point of Busa, though she kept Nikki, and was able to extend her control of the west bank of the Niger to Ilo, a considerable distance below Say. She thus united her Dahomean conquest to the rest of her Niger empire.

Although the French empire in Africa began with a settlement on the Senegal, which at the end of two centuries

and a half had led her to the central Niger, it was followed chronologically and at no great distance of time by an ambition to secure Madagascar as a French colony. The relations of France and Madagascar however will be described in Chapter XV.

During the three centuries following the Turkish conquest of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, France, like most other Christian nations in the Mediterranean, suffered greatly at the hands of Moorish corsairs—suffered so much that, not being able to defend her own coasts sufficiently, it probably never entered into her head to conquer and possess the corsairs' country; though she tried, in rivalry with the Genoese, to obtain a trading and fishing station off the east Algerian coast, at La Calle. So far as political aspirations went, her eyes were turned fitfully towards Egypt. At the end of the 17th century Louis XIV was advised by Leibnitz to make a descent on Egypt, and to hold it as a station on the way to India. The idea was not adopted, but lay dormant in the French archives, and was probably discovered there by the ministers of the Directory after the French Revolution. Either it was communicated to Napoleon Bonaparte with the idea of sending him off on a fool's errand, or the notion had occurred to him independently as a means of striking a blow at the English. At any rate, with a suddenness that startled incredulous Europe, the Corsican General, fresh from the triumphs of his first Italian campaign, eluded the British fleet, and landed in Alexandria in 1798 with a force of 40,000 men. He met and defeated the Mamluk Beys, who ruled Egypt under Turkish suzerainty, and eventually chased them into Upper Egypt. He then established himself at Cairo, and sought to win over the Muhammadan population by professing more or less Muhammadan views of religion. But Nelson destroyed his fleet at Aboukir Bay. A Turkish army landed in Egypt, but was cut to pieces and driven into the sea by the infuriated Napoleon, who then endeavoured to conquer Syria,

with the stupendous idea that he might carry his arms to Constantinople, and possibly proclaim a revival in his own person of the Eastern Empire. He was foiled again by the British, who assisted the Turks to hold Acre. Napoleon, though victorious elsewhere in Syria, eventually drew back shattered by the unsuccessful siege of this fortress. He then abandoned his eastern conquests with disgust, and sailed for France. His able lieutenant, Kleber, was assassinated. A British and Turkish army settled the fate of the remaining French forces in Egypt, who after a capitulation were sent back to France. But this daring inroad on the East by Napoleon had far-reaching effects. It brought Egypt violently into contact with European civilization, and prepared the way for its detachment from the Turkish Empire. Moreover, it caused France to take henceforth an acute interest in the valley of the Nile, an interest which on several occasions has brought her dangerously near rupture with a Power even more earnestly concerned with the Egyptian Question.

In 1827 the Dey of Algiers, a country which remained under nominal Turkish suzerainty—insolent beyond measure in his treatment of Europeans, because hitherto all European states had failed to subdue his pretensions—signalised some difference of opinion with the French Consul by striking him in the face with a fly-whisk. France brooded over the insult for three years, when the tottering government of Charles X sought to prop up the Bourbon dynasty by a successful military expedition, and in June 1830 landed 37,000 infantry, and a force of cavalry and artillery at Sidi Ferruj, near Algiers. Considering their renown as fierce fighters, the Algerians do not seem to have made a very sturdy resistance; though perhaps in the lapse of time since their last war with a European power the superiority of European arms began to be felt. At any rate, three weeks after the French landed they had taken the town of Algiers and the Dey had surrendered. A week afterwards the Dey was banished to Naples. Great Britain

then asked for information as to French projects, and was assured that within a very short time the French forces would be withdrawn when reparation had been made. But these assurances were as well meant and as valueless as Russian assurances in Central Asia, and our own repeated and unsolicited assurances that we hoped to be able to leave Egypt shortly. The government of Charles X fell, and the new Orleanist government could hardly draw down on itself the odium of a withdrawal. But an unwise policy nevertheless was pursued towards the Arabs, a policy dictated by ignorance. The inhabitants of Algeria had not taken a very strong part in the defence of the Dey, who in their eyes was a Turk and a foreigner; but when they began to realize that their country was about to be taken possession of by Christians, and Christians who at that time did nothing to soothe their religious susceptibilities, they found a leader in a princely man, Abd al Kader. From 1835 to 1837 the French sustained defeat after defeat at his hands. In 1837 however a truce was made, by which Abd al Kader was recognized by the French as Sultan over a large part of western and central Algeria. Two years after war broke out again between the French and Abd al Kader. An army under Marshal Bugeaud attacked Abd al Kader with unwavering energy—perhaps with some cruelty. In 1841 the national hero had lost nearly every point of his kingdom, and fled into Morocco, from which country he afterwards returned with a large army, only to be again and again defeated, though he occasionally inflicted great losses on the French. Finally, to save his own special district from ruin, he came to terms with the French Governor-General, who gave him permission to retire to Alexandria or Naples. But the French Government repudiated the terms granted to Abd al Kader, and kept him a close prisoner for some years in a French fortress. When Louis Napoleon became Emperor he released him and allowed him to live at Damascus, where he died in 1883.

At the time when the French invaded Algeria that country was by no means under a homogeneous government. There were the Dey of Algiers, the Dey of Oran, and on the east the Bey of Constantine (who ruled over much of eastern Algeria); whilst the Berber tribes in the mountains and on the verge of the desert were practically independent. Constantine was an extremely strong place, and in their first wars with its Bey the French failed to take it. It was not finally captured till 1847. By this time France had warred against Morocco, had silenced any attempt on the part of the "Emperor of the West" to interfere in the affairs of Algeria, and had overrun and to some degree conquered all Algeria north of the Atlas Mountains. Therefore, in 1848, the Government felt justified in declaring the new African acquisition to be French territory, divided into three departments, to be ruled as part of France, and to possess the right of representation in the French parliament. Under the Second Empire this constitutional government, which was, and is, no doubt, quite unsuited to what was fitly termed by Napoleon III 'an Arab kingdom,' was set aside in favour of military government. But this was not organized on suitable lines, and proved a failure. In 1858 an attempt was made to imitate the change then taking place in the government of British India. An Algerian ministry was formed in Paris with Prince Napoleon as Minister; but this form of administration also was a failure, and was abolished by the Emperor when he returned from his visit to Algeria in 1863. The country was then governed by a military governor, generally with absolute powers, and attempts were made to conciliate the Kabail or Hill Berbers, whom utter mismanagement had driven into revolt. The country nevertheless continued to be afflicted with unrest, and in 1870, as the Empire was dying, a commission sat to inquire into the state of the colony, and to suggest remedies which might be applied to its misgovernment. By a vote of the Chamber military government was again abolished in favour of civil rule, but owing to

an insurrection in Eastern Algeria which followed on the Franco-German War, the recommendations of this commission were not fully carried out till 1879, when the first civil governor was appointed. One of the first acts of the new French Republic at the end of 1870 was to bestow the franchise on the Jews of Algeria, an ill-advised action, which by discriminating between the Jews and Arabs has since caused a great deal of trouble.

From 1848 to 1880 numerous attempts were made to induce French people to settle in Algeria, nor were the colonists of other nations discouraged. At one time young soldiers would be selected from the army, would be married to poor girls dowered by the State, and sent off to settle in Algeria, where they were given grants of land; but often as soon as the dowry was spent the newly-wedded wife was deserted by her husband, who made the best of his way back to France. In 1871 nearly 11,000 natives of Alsace and Lorraine were granted land in Algeria, and subsequently some 25,000 other French colonists were settled in the country at a cost of 15,000,000 francs. Meantime, the peace and security of trade introduced by the French had attracted large numbers of Italians and Maltese to the eastern part of Algeria, and still larger numbers of Spaniards to the western department of Oran—so much so, that even at the present day Spanish is the common language of Oran, and Italian is more often heard at Bone, Constantine, and even inland as far as Tebessa than French. Several thousands of Maltese also settled in eastern Algeria, and became naturalized as French subjects. It is probably that in this way Algeria will be eventually colonized by Europe, not by the nations of the north, but by those Mediterranean peoples, who are so nearly akin in blood to the Berber races of North Africa. The French element that prospers most is that drawn from the south of France. There has been a certain intermixture between the French and the native races, and between these again and other European

settlers. It is my opinion, based on a recent visit to Algeria, that a remarkable degree of fusion between these elements is being brought about. The Arabs and Berbers in the settled parts of the country are approximating more and more in their costume and their mode of life to the Europeans, while the latter, curiously enough, are becoming to some extent Arabised. There is scarcely an Algerian in any town who cannot talk French, and there is scarcely a French settler in Algeria who cannot talk Arabic, while among the lower classes a horrible jargon is springing up, in which both languages are represented, mixed with Italian and Spanish words.

In 1863 the Emperor Napoleon brought about the passing of a law which exchanged for tribal holding of land the recognition of the Arabs as individual proprietors of the soil. This law has to some extent broken up the Arab tribal system, has corrected their nomad tendencies, and has done much to settle them on the soil with loyalty to the existing government. Of course, outside the relatively well-watered, fertile districts the nature of the country induces a wandering life amongst the sparse population, and here a warlike spirit still shows itself from time to time in revolts of ever diminishing extent. During the '80's the French were obliged to bring large forces into the field to suppress a serious insurrection under Bu Amama, a leader who represented the more or less Arab tribes inhabiting the steppe country far to the south of Oran, on the borders of Morocco. Their turbulence was only finally subdued by the building of a railway in the heart of their country.

Of late the Jewish question has given trouble. The Jews, equally with the Christians in Algeria, are electors, while this privilege is granted to only a few Arab proprietors. As in Tunis, the Jews are terribly given to usury, and they are hated in Algeria with an intensity which is but little understood in England, where the Jews are scarcely to be distinguished from other subjects of the Crown in their demeanour or practices. But the fact is that parliamentary government, so far as Algeria

is concerned, is a cruel farce. That country should be governed exactly on the lines of British India, and it would then attain a very high degree of prosperity, and cease to be a charge on the French exchequer.

The patent example of the success of this system is to be seen in the adjoining country of Tunis, which under the fiction of an Arab Sovereignty is governed despotically, ably, wisely, and well by a single Frenchman. Tunis, which, like Algeria and Tripoli, had since the close of the 16th century been more or less a Turkish dependency—that is to say, a country governed at first by Turkish officers, who finally became quasi-independent rulers, with a recognized hereditary descent—soon began to feel the results of the conquest of Algeria in an increase of interest felt by the French regarding its condition. At first the relations between France and Tunis were flattering to the latter country. The relatively enlightened character of the Husseinite Beys was recognized, and when France was in difficulties with Abd al Kader and the Bey of Constantine proposals were even made to Tunis to supply from its ruling family two or three princes who should be made Beys of Constantine and Oran under French protection; but the idea was not carried out. In 1863 the Bey of Tunis went in state to visit the Emperor Napoleon at Algiers. Nevertheless, during the '50's and '60's Great Britain firmly maintained the independence of Tunis, at whose court she was represented for many years by a sage diplomatist, Sir Richard Wood. The disenchantment which Algeria caused in the early '60's diminished the interest which France felt in Tunis, and during this time, under the fostering care of Sir Richard Wood, British enterprise had acquired so large a hold over the Regency, that at the beginning of the '70's it would have been reasonable to have extended British protection to the Bey. But another factor had come into play—the newly-formed Power of United Italy. The finances of Tunis had from the time of the Crimean War onwards got into a

disarray resembling in a minor degree the condition of Egypt under Ismail. Not only was the Bey extravagant; but still worse, his ministers, mostly of servile origin, robbed the country shamelessly, and loans were obtained over and over again merely to swell their ill-gotten gains. At last the Powers had to intervene, and in 1869 the finances of Tunis were brought under the control of a tripartite commission with representatives of England, France, and Italy. During the early '70's, however, British commercial interest waned, and the enterprise of France increased, with the result that France obtained permission to erect telegraphs, and took over an important railway concession which had been accepted and then abandoned by a British firm. It was becoming obvious that the native government of Tunis could not continue much longer without a definite European protector. Whatever right England may have had to assume such a position, she quietly surrendered it to France through her official representatives at the Congress of Berlin. The only other rival then was Italy, and Italy, though she would have dearly liked to resume control in the name of Rome over the Roman province of Africa, shrank from the danger of thus defying France. A small British railway which had been made from the town of Tunis to the port of Goletta was sold to an Italian company in 1881[1]. At the same time, a British subject, really acting as a representative of the Tunisian Government, attempted on a point of law to prevent a very large estate in the interior of Tunis from falling into French hands. The French Government determined to delay action no longer. Taking advantage of the very insufficient plea, that a Tunisian tribe had committed small robberies across the Algerian frontier, a strong force invaded Tunis, and wrung from the Bey in his suburban palace the treaty of Kasr-es-Said, by which he placed his

[1] This now forgotten bone of contention has, in the autumn of 1898, been sold by the Italian Company to the French Railway Company of Bône-Guelma-et-Tunisie.

territories under French protection. When the news spread into outlying districts there were uprisings against the French or against the Bey's government which had placed the country under French control. The French troops had practically to conquer much of the South of Tunis, but in a year's time tranquillity had been restored. In 1883 the treaty of Kasr-es-Said was replaced by another agreement which brought the Tunisian Government under complete French control. In this year the other Powers surrendered their consular jurisdiction, and recognized that of the French courts. By 1897 all former commercial treaties with the Bey were abandoned in favour of fresh conventions made with France. From the commencement of 1898, Tunis has become emphatically an integral portion of the French Empire.

Through accident or design—let us hope the latter—a succession of able men was appointed to direct the affairs of France in Tunis. Several of these had a relatively long tenure of power, and were therefore able to carry out a continuous policy. Ablest amongst these French residents have been M. Cambon, and M. Millet. Tunis hitherto has been the one example of almost unqualified success in French colonial administration. Of late, however, the protectionist policy which finds favour with the French Government has to some extent striven to secure the commerce of the Regency for France, a policy which may tend to qualify the praise which otherwise would be bestowed on the remarkable development of the country under French direction.

The extension of Senegal under General Faidherbe, and the occupation by the French of oases in the Sahara, such as Wargla and Golea, early suggested an overland connection between the two French possessions, and the "Chemin de fer Trans-Saharien" was hinted at, half in joke, during the '60's and became a subject of serious consideration in the '70's. But in 1881 the massacre of the Flatters expedition in the Sahara Desert, and the obvious hostility of the Tawareq

to any further advance of the French across the desert temporarily discouraged the idea; though the main discouragement no doubt arose from the thought of the enormous cost of such a railway, and the unfruitful character of the country it would traverse. Still France, when the word "hinterland" was creeping into political terminology, began to feel anxious that no other European Power should intervene between her North African possessions and her empire on the Niger, and in 1890 she secured from the British Government a recognition of this important point, the British recognition carrying the French sphere of influence to the north-western coast of Lake Chad as well as to the Niger. But the ambition of France had already leapt beyond Nigeria to Congoland, and a still wider project fascinated her imagination of a continuous French empire from the Mediterranean to the Upper Congo and the south Atlantic. On what may be called the "Congo Coast," or Lower Guinea, France had secured a footing as early as 1839, at the time when the government of Louis Philippe was making half-hearted efforts to found French settlements on the West Coast of Africa. At this date King 'Denis' of the Gaboon, who had shown favour to Roman Catholic missionaries and to French traders, was induced to transfer his kingdom to France. Effective possession was not however taken till 1844, and Libreville, the present capital, was not founded till 1848, when a cargo of slaves was landed there from a captured slaving vessel and set free to commence the population of the new town. Attention was drawn to this French settlement by the remarkable journeys of Paul du Chaillu, and his making definitely known the existence of the largest known anthropoid ape, the gorilla. The existence of this ape had been to some extent established by the American naturalist, Dr Savage, and from skulls sent home by American missionaries settled on the Gaboon; but the gorilla was scarcely made known in all its characteristics, and certainly was not known to the general public, until Du Chaillu came

to England with his specimens[1]. In the early '60's French explorers established the existence of half the course of the important river Ogowé, and in the '70's these explorations were extended by other travellers, who carried the knowledge of the Ogowé to the limits of its watershed, and passed beyond—unknowingly—to affluents of the Congo. Among these explorers was the celebrated Savorgnan de Brazza.

Political interest in the Gaboon languished so much on the part of France that the country was once or twice offered to England in exchange for the Gambia. However in 1880, the awakening desire to found a great colonial empire urged France to extend her Gaboon possessions up the coast, towards the Cameroons, and southward in the direction of the mouth of that great river, the Congo, the course of which Mr Stanley had just succeeded in tracing. Even before Stanley's return, the King of the Belgians had summoned a number of geographers to Brussels to discuss the possibility of civilizing Africa by an International African association. This conference brought about the creation of national committees, which were to undertake on behalf of each participating nation a section of African exploration. The French committee sent De Brazza to explore the hinterland of the Gaboon. While Stanley was commencing his second Congo expedition for the King of the Belgians and slowly working his way up the lower river, De Brazza had made a rapid journey overland to Stanley Pool and the upper Congo, making treaties for France and planting the French flag wherever he went. Soon afterwards an English missionary, Mr Grenfell, discovered the course of the great Ubangi, and French explorers promptly directed their steps thither. For some years there was keen and even bitter rivalry between Mr Stanley's expedition, which gradually became a Belgian enterprise, and the French explorers under De Brazza; and when, at the Conference of Berlin in 1884—5, it was sought to create the Congo Free State under the

[1] Now in the British Museum.

sovereignty of the King of the Belgians, the adhesion of France to this scheme could only be obtained by handing over to her much of the western and northern watershed of the Congo, besides giving her a promise that if the Congo State were ever to be transferred from the Belgian sovereign to another Power, France should have the right of preemption. Before the French had been many years on the Ubangi River, which is one of the rare means of communication between the southern half of Africa, which is Bantu, and the northern half, which is populated by non-Bantu Negroes, Negroids, Hamites, and Semites, they had very naturally conceived the idea of pushing northwards to the Shari river and Lake Chad. In 1890 Paul Crampel was the first European to cross this mysterious Bantu boundary, to leave the forest regions of the Congo, and enter the more open park lands of the central Sudan. But he was attacked and killed by suspicious Muhammadan raiders on the river Shari. Another Frenchman, of Polish descent, M. Dybowski, succeeded in chastising the murderers of Crampel, and further exploring the Shari. Another mission under Lieutenant Maistre succeeded Dybowski, and was in turn succeeded by a mission led by the explorer Gentil, which is said to have succeeded in placing a small armed steamer on the river Shari, and thence to have reached the waters of Lake Chad.

By an agreement with Germany, France has secured German recognition of her sphere of influence over the river Shari, over the Bagirmi country, and the southern shores of Lake Chad; while by a treaty made with the King of the Belgians in 1894 the Belgian boundary line is drawn at the Ubangi, the Mbomu and the Nile watershed. Lastly by the Anglo-French convention of June 1898, Great Britain has recognized the French sphere on the southern and eastern shores of Lake Chad. Thus France will have a continuous empire stretching from Algiers to the Congo Coast, a strange development of the landing of 37,000 troops at the Bay of Sidi Ferruj, near Algiers, in the summer of 1830.

Even this extension is not sufficient for French ambition, and there has been talk in France of extending her Central African possessions eastward across the Nile valley to Abyssinia and the Gulf of Aden. French newspapers alternately treat the country of Abyssinia as a future French protectorate and a great independent African empire under a most enlightened sovereign, who is to direct his powers and conquests to the detriment of England and Italy. French designs on Shoa, to the south of Abyssinia, are not of very recent date. In 1857 France had intended to seize the island of Perim, at the mouth of the Red Sea, but was forestalled by the British. She therefore turned her attention to the coast opposite Aden, and there purchased from a native chief the Bay of Obok. This place was not effectively occupied till 1883, after the break-up of the Egyptian Sudan empire. France then rapidly pushed her possessions southward to curtail as much as possible similar British operations in Somaliland. She thus secured the important bay of Tajurra. French territory now stretches inland to the vicinity of Harrar. On the north she is bounded, somewhat vaguely, by the Italian colony of Eritrea, but in the interior her boundary with Abyssinia remains undefined.

With the exception of Tunis, there is not a single French possession in Africa which is self-supporting, or other than a drain on the French exchequer. The reasons of this lack of local revenue are the strong protectionist policy pursued (which fetters trade and drives away commercial enterprise) and the unnecessary multiplication of officials.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

If I were writing this little work for dramatic effect and less with a view to historical sequence, I should have been disposed to put this chapter next to the one dealing with the slave trade, as an effective pendant; for if Europe has dealt wickedly in enslaving Africa, she has sent thither a high-minded army of men, acting nearly always from noble and unselfish motives, to raise the African from his brutish ignorance to a glimpse of better things. And as England was the greatest sinner amongst all white peoples in the thoroughness with which she prosecuted the slave trade, she deserves credit on the other hand for a degree of missionary effort far surpassing that attributable to any other nation.

The Portuguese were the first among us to send missionaries to Africa, and their zeal was great, and, with one or two exceptions, wholly praiseworthy. Portuguese priests and Jesuits accompanied most of the early expeditions to Africa; in fact hardly any explorer or conquistador sailed without chaplains in his company, who raised the cross and preached Christianity as soon as they set foot on shore. In my chapter on the Portuguese in Africa I have touched upon the introduction of Christianity into Congoland in 1491. Unfortunately, any race of purely Negro blood accepts and loses Christianity with great facility. The Negro (unless he be Muhammadanized)

is easily converted, and as easily relapses into gross superstition or a negation of all religion, including his former simple but sound ideas of right and wrong. That Christianity may become permanently rooted in a Negro race it is necessary that it be maintained by a higher power for a long period as the religion of the State. The Negro kingdoms which have retained their independence have usually lost their Christianity in a recognizable form. It is not so with Muhammadanism, the explanation being that Muhammadanism as taught to the Negro demands no sacrifice of his bodily lusts, whereas Christianity with its restrictions ends by boring him, unless and until his general mental condition by individual genius or generations of transmitted culture, reaches the average level of the European. As instances of the former, one might mention some ten or a dozen individuals living at the present time, who are priests and deacons of Christianity in Africa, while for examples of permanently rooted Christianity as the result of inheritance it is only necessary to point to the thousands of really good Negro men and women to be found in the United States and the British West Indies. Portugal, however, never attempted to rule the Kingdom of the Congo till a few years ago; so after a century's work the Ba-kongo fell away from Christianity, and in another hundred years had absolutely relapsed into Heathenism, and expelled all the priests.

Jesuit priests also accompanied Portuguese conquerors to the Zambezi and the south-east of Africa. Here they met with relatively little success, though they left their traces on Zambezia in the most marked manner by founding a settlement high up the Zambezi and even establishing stations beyond in the little known Batoka country, where their presence is attested to this day by the groves of fruit trees which they introduced. Tete, the modern capital of Portuguese Zambezia, also began as a missionary station. Elsewhere, in Portuguese East Africa, the priests had very little

success, as Muhammadanism had already got a hold. Indeed the first missionary explorer of Zambezia, who visited the court of the King of Monomotapa, was martyred there at the instigation of the Arabs[1].

Portuguese priests also travelled over Abyssinia during two centuries after the Portuguese discovery of that country at the end of the 15th century. Christian Abyssinia—the most probable origin of the myth of the Kingdom of Prester John—attracted a good deal of attention from Portugal since she commenced her exploration of the outer world. But the Portuguese priests were quite unsuccessful in converting the Abyssinians from their debased form of Greek Christianity to the Roman Catholic Church, and after bitter quarrels with the native clergy these missionaries had been either killed or expelled from the country by 1633.

Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian priests vainly attempted at different times to convert the Moors of North Africa. Finding this a hopeless task, they directed their efforts towards relieving the sufferings of the unfortunate Christian captives of the Barbary pirates, and practically continued their work down to the French occupation of Algeria.

The Protestant peoples did little in the way of missionary work in Africa till quite the end of the 18th century; though the good Huguenots, who went out to South Africa a hundred years before, endeavoured, somewhat to the surprise of the Dutch, to treat the Hottentots as fellow men fitted for baptism; and the Moravians attracted by the Hottentots began evangelizing work at the Cape of Good Hope in 1732.

Wesleyan missionary work was begun at Sierra Leone coincidently with the establishment of that place as a settlement for freed slaves in 1787. The London Missionary Society was founded in 1795, and the Edinburgh Missionary Society in 1796; the Glasgow Missionary Society soon afterwards. By the

[1] Gonçalo de Silveira; killed somewhere to the south-west of Tete about 1565.

end of the 18th century these three bodies had sent out missionaries to Sierra Leone and the adjoining Susu country. In 1821 the Glasgow Missionary Society sent the first Presbyterian missionaries to South Africa. The Church Missionary Society was founded in 1799. It sent missionaries to Sierra Leone, and after a long interval extended its operations to Lagos and the Niger Delta, where it is still the leading Christian mission. In the '40's of this century this mission began to consider the possibility of evangelizing East Africa. In common with other English missionary societies at that time, and for reasons not very clear to me, it preferred to employ German evangelists, though from the results achieved few can find fault with the choice made. The Church Missionary Society introduced to us men of the stamp of Krapf and Rebmann. Dr Ludwig Krapf is justly a great name in African exploration, African philology, and African Christianity. Despatched by the Church Missionary Society to prospect Abyssinia in 1840, he was obliged to decide, after disappointing experiences, that there was no field there for Protestant Christianity, and therefore directed his steps to the Zanzibar coast. Being a tactful man, and meeting with kindness at the hands of Sayyid Sa'id, the 'Sultan' of Zanzibar[1], he established himself at Mombasa, and there founded the work of the Church Missionary Society, which endures and prospers to this day. Dr Krapf will also be referred to in the chapter on explorers. The Church Missionary Society educated the first Protestant Negro bishop[2] in the person of Samuel Crowther of the Niger. Its work met with some success on the West Coast of Africa as regards the number of

[1] At that time the chief Arab ruler of Zanzibar was only known as 'Sayyid' (Lord); not as Sultan.

[2] The Portuguese Church had produced the first Roman Catholic Negro Bishop, in the 16th century. He was Bishop of the Congo, was a member of the Royal family of Congo, and was educated at Lisbon and Rome.

adherents; but, like most Christian missions, it has not achieved rapid progress in more or less Muhammadanized East Africa. This mission stands out conspicuous for the magnificent philological work done by its agents in Africa: especially notable among whom have been Dr S. W. Koelle, Mr Reichart, the Rev. James Frederic Schön, Bishop Crowther, Krapf, Rebmann, and J. T. Last.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was founded in 1813, and devoted its first efforts to South Africa, Namaqualand, and Kaffraria. The Primitive Methodist Society was started in 1843, and commenced the evangelization of Fernando Po. They also went at the same time to South Africa. The prospects of this mission in Fernando Po were affected by the resumption of the administration of that island by the Spanish Government, which at that time discountenanced Protestant missions in its territory. Some arrangement was come to, however, and the mission still continues to work there, and to work at the present time without any very marked restriction.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel became a distinctly missionary body in 1821, and worked chiefly in South Africa. Roman Catholic missions entered North Africa soon after the conquest of Algeria. Lyons, in France, became a great centre of missionary activity. It is the head-quarters at the present day of a powerful French Roman Catholic Missionary Society—that of the Holy Ghost and of the Sacred Heart of Mary—which of recent years has been doing a very great work in Portuguese Angola and on the coast region of the Congo, and also in Senegambia and German East Africa. In 1846 missionary enterprise in Roman Catholic Austria decided to take advantage of Muhammad Ali's conquest of the Sudan to push its way into the heart of Africa through Egypt. In 1846 these Austrian Catholic missionaries chose Cairo as their starting point, and this mission continued to work in the Egyptian Sudan until the recent uprising of the

Mahdists. Most of the readers of this book will have remembered the adventures of Father Ohrwalder and the nuns who escaped from the clutches of the Khalifah several years ago. This mission, amongst other philological studies, illustrated the interesting Bari language of the upper White Nile, and did excellent work in countries so remote as Kordofan and Senār. Italian priests—before the disasters which befell the colonial enterprise of Italy—worked amongst the Gallas of Abyssinia.

In 1878 the late Cardinal Lavigerie having started the Mission of the White Fathers, which was to convert the Sudan and all Congoland to Christianity, Pope Leo XIII gave them a rescript directing them to evangelize all Central Africa. They had settled in Tunis (as well as in Algeria), on the Congo, on Tanganyika, and in West Africa (Senegambia), and finally they directed their energies towards Uganda shortly after the Church Missionary Society had established itself in that country. Cardinal Lavigerie was a modern type of prelate, given to somewhat noisy declamation, who posed as the denunciator of slavery and the slave trade without ever making any personal acquaintance with its horrors. He endeavoured to obtain in the Roman Catholic world the glory of a Livingstone without going through Livingstone's hardships. Moreover, hand in hand with his desire to spread religion amongst Arabs, Berbers and Negroes was an equally ardent desire to make them at the same time French or French-protected subjects. His strong political bias has somewhat discoloured his strenuous efforts for the evangelization of Africa, since his work is now seen to have been by no means disinterested. No doubt—as our foreign critics point out—British missionaries often come as precursors to British rule; but they do so unconsciously, and indeed frequently prove inconvenient champions of native independence. But the missionaries of Cardinal Lavigerie's order aimed at advancing the political interests of France almost before they had secured the conversion

of their pupils, and this somewhat detracts from their value as missionaries of Christianity. The determined hostility shown by these men to the British protectorate over Uganda ended in their withdrawal from the country, and the transference of their work to Irish Roman Catholics, under whom it has made favourable progress. The White Fathers wear an Arab costume—a red fez and a long white cassock tied round the waist with a girdle. Their churches and schools are not unfrequently built in a Moorish style of architecture. It was Cardinal Lavigerie's idea that an approximation in dress and architecture to the Arabs might induce that people to give a hearing to his propagandists.

About eighteen years ago the Jesuits decided to resume their work on the Zambezi, which had been interrupted for more than a century by native troubles and by the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Portuguese dominions by the orders of the Marquez de Pombal. At first the efforts of the Jesuits resulted in utter disaster. They established themselves on the upper Zambezi, in the Batoka country, near the Victoria Falls, and all those who did not die of fever were massacred by the Batoka. Then they restricted their efforts to the vicinity of the Portuguese settlements at Zumbo and Tete and at Boroma. Near the last-named place they have a most prosperous and well-conducted establishment where a good technical education is given to the negroes of the Zambezi. At the invitation of the Portuguese Government they directed their attention to Nyasaland, but their establishment there being sacked and burned by Muhammadan Yaos, they retired from work in that direction. They have subsequently established mission stations in Mashonaland, besides resuming work in Madagascar.

Roman Catholic missionaries met with but poor success in Madagascar until French influence became dominant there a few years ago. The priests who attempted repeatedly to establish themselves on the coast of Madagascar in the early

days of French colonial experiments either died from fever or were killed by the natives. The Jesuits who proceeded to the Hova Plateau during the '60's of this century, and who were maintained there by subsidies granted by the French Imperial Government, met with so little success that they almost abandoned their work. At the present time, however, being strongly supported by the government of this French colony, they are obtaining an ascendant over the Protestants.

Protestant missionary work, chiefly conducted by the London Missionary Society, and subsequently by the Quakers and the Norwegians, began in Madagascar in 1818. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society met with great success in converting the natives of Madagascar to an undenominational form of Protestant Christianity, but their efforts were suddenly checked by the reactionary policy of Queen Ranavalona I, who persecuted and killed the native Christians, and compelled the missionaries to leave the island in 1836. After various attempts—which proved futile—to come to an understanding with the old heathen queen, the Protestant missionaries returned in full force at her death, and since that time until the French annexation of the island they may be said to have converted the mass of the Hovas to Christianity, and to have established a strong Protestant native Church in friendly co-operation with the Anglicans, who, under a Bishop of Madagascar, became established in the island from 1863 onwards.

The London Missionary Society, which has done such a striking work in Madagascar, and which was the pioneer missionary society in South Africa, was attracted to the open field of Tanganyika at the time when the Church Missionary Society, stirred up by Stanley's appeal, sent its emissaries to Uganda. The first missionaries of the London Missionary Society, crossing Tanganyika from east to west, made their first establishment on the Kavala islet on the west coast. By means of the African Lakes Company of Nyasa, they conveyed

a steamer in sections to the waters of Tanganyika, a steamer which has plied successfully on the lake since it was launched in 1885. Subsequently, however, the London Missionary Society retired from those parts of Tanganyika under foreign flags, and directed their attention to the south shore of the lake, which was placed under British protection by the author of this book in 1889.

A Swiss Protestant mission was founded at Basel in 1815, and soon afterwards commenced work on the Gold Coast, a work which produced the most remarkable and beneficial results in the industrial training of thousands of Gold Coast natives, enabling them thus to earn good wages and to fulfil many of the tasks hitherto assigned to Europeans. The Basel mission is now established in the adjoining German territories of Togoland. The Moravian Protestant Missionary Society was founded as far back as 1732, and sent out, I believe, the first trained Christian missionaries to South Africa. At the present day this mission has flourishing establishments in that part of the continent. The Berlin Missionary Society was founded in 1823, the Rhenish Missionary Society in 1829, and the North German (Bremen) Society in 1836. The two first named German Protestant missions directed their attentions to Damaraland, and to the Hottentot country in South-West Africa. The Bremen Mission sent its agents chiefly to West Africa. Several of these societies, together with the Moravians, have established mission stations in German Nyasaland, to the north of Lake Nyasa. A Bavarian Roman Catholic mission has commenced work in the coast regions of German East Africa.

The French Evangelical Church began its important missionary work in Africa as far back as 1829. Its agents—noted almost universally for their single-minded earnestness and dissociation from all attempts to procure political influence—have made remarkable progress in Christianizing Basutoland, and other adjoining Bechuana peoples in South

Africa. Following the Bechuana race movements, they were gradually directed to the Upper Zambezi, and to the Barotse Kingdom. Here, under the distinguished leadership of M. Coillard, they have carried out a work of civilization amongst the Barotse deserving of the highest praise, though they have suffered severe losses amongst their agents by ill-health. Sweden, not to be behind other Protestant states, founded a missionary society in the early part of this century, which devoted itself to the still unoccupied field of Gallaland, attacking this country, however, rather from the Abyssinian side than from the East Coast of Africa, whence it is easier penetrated at the present day. Though the work of this Society resulted in important additions to our philological knowledge, its efforts to propagate Christianity amongst the Gallas—who were either obstinate Muhammadans or equally obstinate Pagans—were unsuccessful. The Free Swiss Church has sent missionaries amongst the Basuto in South Africa. The Dutch Reformed Church has done a good deal of missionary work in South Africa, and of late in Nyasaland. The American Presbyterian Church started an African missionary society in 1831 and sent its emissaries to Liberia, where it has many adherents.

British Presbyterians have established several important missionary bodies. The earliest (among existing societies) to commence work was the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which established a mission at Old Calabar, on the West Coast of Africa, in 1846, and has since made great progress in converting the natives of Old Calabar and the Cross River to Christianity and a certain degree of civilization. It is mainly owing to the work of this mission that Old Calabar has become an important centre for European enterprise, and the capital of the Niger Coast Protectorate. The Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Societies of the early part of this century, which sent out missionaries to South Africa, were dissolved, and took shape in other forms as the foreign missions of the Free Church

of Scotland, and the Established Church of Scotland. The former, which was organized in the '50's, established strong missions in South Africa, and there founded the educationary establishment of Lovedale, whence many hundreds of South African negroes have gone out into the world with a practical education. When Livingstone had directed attention to the Zambezi the Free Church of Scotland thought of establishing a mission there, but after the report of its commissioner decided that the time was not come for such an enterprise. But in 1875, after Livingstone's death, the Free Kirk sent out an expedition to Nyasaland for the establishment of a mission, which now has stations all along the west coast of that lake[1]. The Established Church of Scotland followed suit in 1876, when a settlement was made on the Shiré Highlands, to the south of Lake Nyasa, and the head-quarters of the mission was styled "Blantyre" after the little town in Lanarkshire where Livingstone was born. Blantyre is now in many respects the principal town in the British Central Africa Protectorate.

The Norwegian Church sent out missionaries to Zululand (1842) and to Madagascar in later years.

Besides the American Presbyterian mission in Liberia, other American missionaries (Baptists, Episcopal Methodists, undenominational) settled in the Gaboon and on the coast between the Cameroons and that French colony, on the Congo, in Angola, and, above all, on the highlands of Bihe, behind Benguela. Among the agents of these American missions, remarkable for the linguistic work they have done in African languages, were the Rev. J. L. Wilson, who, together with Preston and Best, wrote on the languages of the Gaboon coast; Dr Sims, who has compiled the most valuable vocabularies of Congo languages; Mr Heli Chatelain, whose work in

[1] The same body has also established an industrial mission (initiated by Dr James Stewart, the founder of Lovedale) in British East Africa, halfway to Uganda.

connection with the Angola language is of exceptional value; and lastly, the Rev. W. M. Stover, who has ably illustrated the Bihe language.

Besides the Church Missionary Society, the Anglican Church has been represented in Africa by the well-known "Universities' Mission" founded in 1856 as the result of an appeal by Livingstone to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Just as the Church Missionary Society is mainly supported by the Evangelical side of the English Church, so the Universities' Mission is the outcome of the missionary enterprise of the High Church party. Its first establishment in Nyasaland under Livingstone was unfortunate, and resulted in the death of Bishop Mackenzie (the first missionary bishop of Central Africa) and most of the missionaries with him. His successor, Bishop Tozer, resolved to suspend work in Nyasaland, and concentrate the efforts of the mission upon Zanzibar, which thenceforward became its principal seat in Africa; but later on, when he was succeeded by Bishop Steere, another effort was made to reach Nyasa. From the beginning of the '80's to the present day, though at times much harassed by the Muhammadan Yaos, this mission has taken a firm hold in Nyasaland, besides establishing and maintaining a number of mission stations in German East Africa. In Nyasaland it occupies chiefly the east coast of the Lake, and has one station on the west coast, having chosen to work mainly among those populations which have been to some degree under Arab or Yao influence. To this mission is due the erection of a fine cathedral at Zanzibar, and much valuable linguistic work on the part of the late Bishop Steere, Mr Madan, and the late Bishop of Likoma (better known as Archdeacon Chauncey Maples[1]).

The Plymouth Brethren have established a mission in South-Central Africa, across the Zambezi-Congo water-parting.

[1] Who worked for many years in Nyasaland and in East Africa, and was drowned, unhappily, in Lake Nyasa in 1895.

The English Baptists organized a missionary society early in the century, and sent out missionaries as far back as 1840 to Fernando Po. Owing to their expulsion from the island by the Spanish Government, they moved across to the Cameroons, where they established the flourishing settlement of Ambas Bay, and made English almost the second language of the Cameroons people. The splendid work of this mission in the Cameroons was chiefly done under the late Edward Saker, whose name is still venerated on the Cameroons river for the great good that he did to the country by spreading the knowledge of many useful arts and industries and educating the Duala people to a remarkable degree. From the Cameroons the mission, under the guidance of the Rev. Thomas Comber and the Rev. Holman Bentley, moved on to the Congo[1], where this Baptist mission now has numerous stations. One of its missionaries, the Rev. H. Grenfell, made himself famous by discovering the great Ubangi river, the most important of the Congo tributaries, and known in its upper waters as the Welle. The linguistic work done by this mission was important, and included an illustration of the language of Fernando Po by Mr John Clarke, a like service rendered to the Duala language of the Cameroons by Mr Saker, and a valuable Congo dictionary and grammar by the Rev. H. Bentley.

Finally, Plymouth Brethren and other English Protestants of different denominations organized Protestant missionary enterprise in North Africa into the "North African Mission," established in 1886. This mission has numerous representatives in Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt. As it devotes itself mainly to the conversion of Muhammadans, it has had but slight success at present.

The Scotch Baptists established a mission in Nyasaland and in the south-western part of the British Central Africa

[1] It quitted the Cameroons altogether soon after the establishment of the German colony, the German Government having expropriated most of its establishments.

Protectorate, and also on the Zambezi in 1895. There, also, is the Zambezi Industrial Mission (undenominational), which was founded in 1893, and which endeavours to be self-supporting by its industrial work. A few American missionaries have attempted settlement in the Portuguese possessions on the South-east coast of Africa, and there are of course unattached missionaries carrying on work on their own account and without being connected with any special society.

The only Christian state which existed in Africa before the beginning of European colonization was Abyssinia, which is to some degree dependent on the Coptic Church in Egypt, and is in communion with the Greek Church. Christianity is said to have been introduced here in the 4th century. The Abyssinians have usually resented the arrival of Roman Catholic missionaries, and have not shown much greater encouragement to emissaries from Protestant Churches. Abyssinian Christianity is, as might be imagined, so degraded and mixed up with fetishism that it is difficult to recognize it as a branch of the Christian faith which is the religion of so much of Europe and America. Russia has of late been much concerned at the spiritual darkness prevailing in Abyssinia, and has endeavoured to send thither missionaries from the Greek Church, the domain of which she identifies with her own empire. But these have been propagandists of a singularly military type—wolves in sheep's clothing, if one may commit oneself to rather a strong metaphor—and hardly to be classed with the unarmed emissaries of Christianity, who, on behalf of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians of Europe and America, have striven usually with single-minded motives, almost always with deep personal unselfishness, ever with zeal, sometimes with indiscretion, and not unfrequently with bitter self-delusions and cruel sufferings to evangelize Africa.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BRITISH IN AFRICA, II.

(*South and South-Central.*)

In 1795 England, having for some years previously cast longing eyes at the Cape of Good Hope, as a victualling station for her ships on the way to India which could not remain much longer in the weak grasp of a Dutch company and must not fall into the hands of France, despatched a strong expedition with the authority of the Prince of Orange and took possession of Cape Town, after a brief struggle with the local authorities. Free trade, with some preference for British goods, at once took the place of the grinding monopoly of the old Dutch company, and various other liberal measures were enacted, which would have done much to reconcile the Dutch colonists to British rule were it not that when England at the Peace of Amiens in 1803 restored the Cape of Good Hope to the Dutch Republic there followed three years of direct Dutch rule under two most enlightened men, who did much to efface from the settlers' remembrance the justly hated restrictions of the old Dutch East India Company. Therefore, when Great Britain resumed, in a manner intended to be permanent, the administration of Cape Colony in 1805, a still more decided opposition was shown to her forces than before; and even after the cession of this colony by Holland in 1814 there remained among the Dutch settlers a certain lukewarmness, and a disposition to find fault with the actions and motives of the

Colonial Government and of the British people. In 1806, when Cape Colony passed definitely under British control, it had an area of about 125,000 square miles[1]. The boundary on the East was the Great Fish river, and thence a curving line which ended at Plettenberg's Beacon, about fifty miles south of the Orange river. The boundary on the North was an irregular line from Plettenberg's Beacon (dipping far south in the middle) to the mouth of the Buffalo river (Little Namaqualand) on the Atlantic Ocean. The population of the colony (not counting the military forces) was about 26,000 Europeans (of whom 6,000 lived in Cape Town), about 30,000 Malay and negro slaves, some hundred thousand Hottentots and half-breeds, perhaps another hundred thousand Kaffirs, and a few thousand Bushmen. The industries and pursuits of the European settlers were limited to vine-growing, the raising of grain, and the care of large herds of cattle and sheep. The cattle were mostly the long-horned native cattle of the Hottentots, and the sheep the hairy, fat-tailed, domestic sheep of Africa. Ostrich farming was unknown, and although the Dutch commissioners, De Mist and Janssens, had begun to introduce merino sheep just before the expiration of their administration, wool had not yet figured amongst the exports.

The first beneficial effect of British rule was felt in the stemming of the tide of Kaffir invasion. This race of Bantu negroes had during the previous century been pressing closer and closer on the extremity of South Africa from the North-East. The earliest branch of the Bantu to reach South Africa were the Herero, who invaded what is now known as Damara-land. But the desert and the Hottentots kept them from either reaching the Atlantic coast or penetrating any further south. Then came the Bechuana, who barely crossed the Orange river; and then, overriding these latter, latest of all in

[1] As against an area for all British South Africa (which has sprung from Cape Colony) of 933,000 square miles in 1898, together with a suzerainty over 128,000 square miles more.

the field, the Zulu Kaffirs, who attempted to enter Cape Colony from the coast region bordering on the Indian Ocean. The first British-Kaffir war took place in 1809, and ended in the expulsion of the Kaffirs from the Zuurveld (the modern district of Albany), to the west of the Great Fish river, which had then been fixed as the Kaffir boundary. In 1817 Lord Charles Somerset, then the Governor of the Cape, visited the Zuurveld, and decided that the best obstacle in the way of repeated Kaffir invasions would be to settle that district with a stout race of colonists. He therefore obtained a grant from the British Government of £5,000 to promote emigration to the Cape; and in 1820–'1, 5,000 British emigrants landed in South Africa, 4,000 of whom were settled in the eastern districts, principally in the county of Albany. This settlement was at first a failure. Few if any of the settlers were skilled agriculturists, they were without any experience of life in a semi-tropical country, the cost of land transport pressed heavily on them, and the grants of land made to each individual were too small. The first few years Nature played her usual tricks; for Nature seems to hate the movement of species and the upsetting of her arrangements. Therefore she sent blight during three years, then floods for another season. The settlers fell into great distress, but in time things righted themselves. Some settlers moved to the towns of the colony and obtained high wages as artisans; and others who held on to the Zuurveld at last attained prosperity by extending the area of land they occupied, and going in for sheep and cattle runs in preference to corn-growing.

These immigrants of 1820 and 1821 created for the first time a strong British element in the population of Cape Colony. They were principally English in origin, but also included Scotch, Irish, and Welsh, though the Irish immigrants, who had settled in the western part of Cape Colony, did not prosper. Gradually, owing to the distribution of the new settlers, the eastern part of Cape Colony became English

in race and language, as compared to the western and central parts, which remained principally Dutch. In 1818–19 another Kaffir war broke out, originating from an internecine conflict amongst these Bantu negroes in which British intervention was invoked. The Kosa Kaffirs made a dash across the border and besieged the newly-founded Grahamstown, but they were beaten off, and eventually their boundary was shifted further east, to the Keiskamma. As the result of this war the frontier district was established east of the Great Fish river, which was at first regarded as a neutral land to be possessed by neither Kaffir nor white man. Gradually, however, this system became impossible, and at last, in 1831, the Colonial Office gave its assent to grants of land being made in the ceded territory to respectable settlers. Unfortunately in this despatch a distinction was drawn between Englishmen and Hottentots on the one hand and the Dutch Boers on the other, and the latter were not permitted to obtain land on the new frontier district. This tactless and unjustified announcement, together with the attacks made on the Boers by the British missionaries, and the knowledge that the abolition of slavery was near at hand, made many of the Dutch settlers profoundly dissatisfied with the British Government and anxious to move beyond its control.

Till 1825 the Cape had been governed despotically by the Governor, but in that year an executive council of six members, all Government officials, was appointed to advise the Governor in his legislation. In 1828 two colonists were introduced into this council in place of two official members. But in 1833 the Cape received a regular constitution as a Crown colony with a legislative council in which the unofficial element was fairly represented. In 1827 the English language had been substituted for Dutch in courts of law (an additional cause of dissatisfaction to the Boers), but the administration of justice in that year was greatly improved by the appointment of a supreme court with judges appointed directly by the Crown, while the lower courts were entirely remodelled, and civil

commissioners and resident magistrates were appointed. In 1822 the number of Europeans settled in South Africa was about 60,000. In 1828, owing to the growing importance of the Albany settlement, Cape Colony was divided into two provinces, the western and the eastern, and the latter was for a time governed with some degree of independence. By 1824 Cape Colony had taken what is now the southern limit of the Orange Free State as its northern boundary.

At this time there was a slave population in British South Africa of about 60,000, of whom less than half were Hottentots (who were rather serfs than slaves), and the remainder Malays introduced by the Dutch, and black negroes brought from Moçambique and from Angola. The British Government having abolished the slave trade in 1807, the further importation of slaves ceased; but there came into the colony a certain number of free negroes, who were rescued from the slave ships by cruisers, and landed in South Africa. In 1833 slavery was abolished. It was however enacted that although the emancipation should come into effect on December 1st, 1834[1], complete freedom should not be given to the slaves till December 1st, 1838; further, that the Imperial Government should pay compensation to the extent of $1\frac{1}{4}$ million pounds. As this compensation was saddled with various deductions and drawbacks, the slave-owners—chiefly Dutchmen—did not get fair value for their slaves, and therefore had further cause for grumbling.

At the end of 1834, shortly after one of the most distinguished of South African Governors, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, had arrived to take up his appointment, 12,000 armed Kaffirs crossed the eastern border into the colony with something like a determined resolve to oust the Europeans from the newly settled districts. For nearly a fortnight the Kosa had it all their own way from Somerset East to Algoa Bay, killing many

[1] The Negro and Malay slaves then numbered in all about 39,000.

of the white men, burning their houses, destroying or carrying off their property, and turning a beautiful province into a desert. This raid was absolutely unprovoked, except in so far that for years the Kaffirs had been nursing a grievance on account of their expulsion from the country west of the Keiskamma, which they themselves had not long before taken from the Hottentots. Prompt measures were taken to repel this invasion and punish the Kosa tribe. Colonel Smith—afterwards Governor Sir Harry Smith—mustered what forces were available, and drove the Kosa Kaffirs beyond the Keiskamma. Early in 1835 the British forces had reached the Kei river on a counter invasion of Kaffirland. Sir Benjamin D'Urban dealt mercifully with the conquered Kaffirs; very few even of the enemy were dispossessed of their homes, while those natives who had remained friendly were rewarded by grants of land. Beyond the Kei river the son and heir of Hintsa, who had been killed while attempting to escape from imprisonment, was recognized as ruler over a section of the Kosas, while in the new province, afterwards to be known as British Kaffraria, British residents were placed with the Kaffir chiefs to advise them, and missionaries were encouraged to return to their work. Yet this settlement (statesmanlike and far-sighted in its details—which I have not space to give—as in its general outlines) was upset, and the prosperity of South Africa seriously damaged by a Whig statesman, Lord Glenelg, the first of that new school in the Liberal party which favoured a reactionary policy of abandoning, curtailing or disintegrating what they conceived to be the unwieldy British Empire. Lord Glenelg was a sentimental doctrinaire, who had evolved from his inner consciousness an unreal South Africa in which Kaffir raiders of oxen were noble-minded black kings, whom a harsh pro-consul was dispossessing from their ancestral territories. He not only upset all that was new in Sir Benjamin D'Urban's arrangement, but even compelled the retrocession to the Kaffirs of land which had long been occupied by white

settlers, and further damaged the authority of the popular Governor of the Cape by erecting the eastern province into a separate governorship, over which he placed a Boer named Andries Stockenstrom. The immediate result of this reversal of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's policy was ten years of intermittent war with the Kaffirs (who took our generosity for weakness), and grave dissatisfaction among those colonists of Dutch origin who had suffered from the Kaffir raids. In fact, Lord Glenelg's blunder proved the last straw that broke the back of Dutch tolerance of British rule, and in 1836 a number of the Dutch colonists (who had come to be known as the 'Boers,' or farmers) trekked away from the limits of Cape Colony across the Orange river and the Vaal river, and south-eastwards into Natal. So far back as 1815 the Dutch farmers had risen against the government of Lord Charles Somerset because it interfered with their summary treatment of the natives; but they were surrounded and laid down their arms at Slachter's Nek. Yet five were afterwards hung for high treason, a sentence which did much to alienate Dutch sympathies. Still, in all historical works dealing with Cape Colony it is reiterated that the main cause of the shaking-off of British citizenship by so many Boer farmers was Lord Glenelg's reversal of D'Urban's frontier settlement. The adventures of these Boers after leaving British territory I have dealt with in the chapter on Dutch Africa.

In 1823 a small enterprise under the leadership of Farewell and King, officers in the Royal Navy, started from Cape Town to explore the coast of Natal. They landed at Port Natal (now Durban), visited the Zulu king Chaka, and obtained from him in 1824 a grant of the port of Natal with 100 square miles of territory inland, and a coast line of 35 miles. Other territories in what is now the modern colony of Natal were also obtained later on from the Zulu chief. The purchasers of these lands proclaimed them to be British territory. Although these adventurers were occasionally driven away by the violent

wars and disturbances going on amongst the Zulus and Kaffirs, they held on to their possessions, and in June 1834 Sir Benjamin D'Urban forwarded to the Colonial Office a petition from Cape Colony for the establishment of a definite government in Natal. This petition the fatuous Lord Glenelg seems to have found some pleasure in declining on the score of expense. In 1835 the white element in Natal was increased by missionaries from America, and by Captain Allen Gardener, a pioneer of missionary enterprise on behalf of the Church of England. These settlers drew up the plans of a regular township, built a church, christened their territory Victoria (in honour of the heir to the British throne), and proposed to call the town they were laying out Durban, after the energetic Governor of Cape Colony. In 1835 they petitioned that their territory might be made a colony, but again the Imperial Government refused, then, as for many years afterwards, preferring to postpone action until it was costly and fraught with bloodshed. The Dutch immigrants were allowed to form a republic in the interior of Natal. In July 1838 General Napier, acting no doubt on instructions from home, invited the British settlers in Natal to return to Cape Colony; but a few months afterwards he sent a small detachment of troops to keep order at the port, and again pressed the Home Government to declare Natal a British colony, though the following year the soldiers were withdrawn. This was taken by the Boers to be a tacit consent to the establishment of a vassal republic under British suzerainty. They would probably have had their way but for imprudent dealings on their part with natives placed under British protection. At the same time, a feeling began to grow that the United States of America were going to have political dealings with the territory of Natal; while a vessel had come out from Holland, sent, it is true, by private persons, but seeming to convey a promise of Dutch alliance to the Burghers of Natal. British troops had again occupied Durban. In 1842 they were attacked by the Boers, who were eventually

repulsed, and afterwards tendered their submission to the Queen's authority. At length, in 1843, a Conservative ministry being in power, it was intimated that the settlers on the coast of Natal might be taken under British protection, with the eventual object of constituting Natal a self-governing colony, in which the Boers were to have a share proportionate to their numbers. After much negotiation, Natal became a British colony with a legislative council in 1843. The fighting Boers left the country and retired beyond the Orange river under a somewhat indefinite assurance that British rule would not follow them. The king of the Zulus received a recognition of his independence, and in return recognized the Tugela as the boundary of the British colony on the east. To the south, the territory of Natal was somewhat restricted, and the portion cut off from it became known as Pondoland, which remained an independent Kaffir state till 1884: it was finally annexed to Cape Colony in 1894. In 1847 the mistake of Lord Glenelg was to some extent repaired under Governor Sir Harry Smith, and the eastern boundary of Cape Colony was once more advanced to the Kei river. This step was taken after a very serious Kaffir war which broke out in 1846. In 1850, however, a war began again with the restless Kosa Kaffirs. It extended far and wide, and was marked by not a few disasters; one being the loss at sea off Simon's Bay of the troopship Birkenhead, which foundered with large reinforcements of troops on board, 400 soldiers and seamen being drowned. At length, in 1853, General Cathcart, who had succeeded Sir Harry Smith, captured all the strongholds of the Kaffirs in the Amatola Mountains, and deported the Kaffirs from that district, which subsequently became (from its settlement by Hottentot half-breeds) Grikwaland East.

In 1852 the Sand River Convention was concluded, by which the independence of the Transvaal Boers was recognized; but the Orange River Sovereignty still remained under British control, and its difficulties with the Basuto compelled

an intervention of the British forces. The invasion of mountainous Basutoland began with a drawn battle in which the Basuto held their own. They afterwards secured favourable terms of peace by sending in their submission. This incident discouraged the British Government, who decided to abandon the Orange River Sovereignty rather than be under any responsibility for its defence. Accordingly, independence was forced on the settlers, many of whom were Englishmen. Basutoland, after having frequently engaged in wars with the Orange Free State, and having to cede a portion of its territory to them, was finally taken under British protection in 1868. In 1871 it was annexed to the Cape, but, owing to the turbulence of its people and the mismanagement of the Colonial Government, it was transferred to direct Imperial administration in 1883.

During several years prior to 1849 the Imperial Government had been endeavouring to arrange for the despatch of British convicts to South Africa, as it was becoming inconvenient to maintain the penal establishments in Australia. Whenever the question came up the Cape Colonists protested against the idea. Nevertheless, in September 1849, a ship brought over from Bermuda a number of ticket-of-leave men to be landed at the Cape. The ship anchored in Simon's Bay, but the colonists took strong measures to prevent the landing of the convicts. All were united to this end. The Governor met the dangerous situation with great wisdom. He kept the convicts on board ship until the order could be reconsidered in England. The Home Government, for a wonder, did not push the point to the raising of rebellion; the convicts were sent on to Van Diemen's Land, while an Order-in-Council authorising transportation to the Cape was revoked. By 1850 the prosperity of Cape Colony had become established. Its population, white and coloured, at that time reached a total of 220,000. The revenue at the same period stood at about £220,000 per annum, while the value of the colonial produce

exported during that year was approximately £800,000. Wine was no longer the principal export, and even the export of grain had diminished; wool had taken the first place. In 1850 it represented 53 per cent. of the total exports. Hair from Angora goats, which had been introduced during the '30's, was beginning to take an important place in the list of exported products, and ostrich feathers (chiefly derived from the wild bird, however) were also an important item. Ostrich farming, which has now placed the ostrich—happily—on the list of inextinguishable domestic birds, did not come into vogue till the '60's, though the emigrant Boers at a much earlier date had been accustomed to hatch and rear young ostriches about their farms.

On the 23rd of May, 1850, the Government and Council of Cape Colony were authorized to prepare for the establishment of a Representative government, and three years later this was established, a Colonial legislature being formed; but the ministry was to be responsible only to the Governor. Responsible government, similar in many respects to that which obtains in the great colonies of Canada and Australasia, was brought into force in 1872.

In 1854 the great Sir George Grey became Governor of the Cape. He, even more than his predecessors, was anxious to build up against Kaffir invasion on the East a wall of military colonists, who should be able to defend their flocks from raids without continually calling on the Colonial Government for intervention. After the Crimean War a means presented itself in the disbanding of the Foreign Legion, which Great Britain had recruited, and which consisted of German, Swiss, and Italian soldiers. After the conclusion of peace it was necessary to disband this force, and they were invited to volunteer for African colonization. The result was that 2,300 Germans accepted the terms offered, and started for South Africa. They were settled in the Eastern Province. But trouble then began to arise from their being unmarried

men, and Sir George Grey sought to remedy the defect by importing a large number of German women. The Imperial Government, however, thought that this would not be a politic step to take, to create a little Germany in British Africa. Finally the Cape Government sent on 1,000 of the German bachelors to India, and the 1,300 who remained behind found wives in the colony, and merged their own nationality in that of British subjects. Nevertheless, the introduction of these German settlers led to the going out of many emigrants from Germany for some years afterwards, and these settled in such numbers in independent Kaffraria that there seemed a danger at one time of their invoking German intervention.

In 1856 a terrible delusion took hold on the Kosa Kaffirs. They had endured a good deal of misery from the destruction of much of their cattle by an epidemic of rinderpest, and were in a mood to be influenced by the wild sayings of their witch doctors. One of these wizards, who had received a smattering of education at a mission school, arose and proclaimed a strange gospel. He announced that the dead and gone Kaffir chiefs would return to earth with their followers, and bring with them a new race of cattle exempt from disease, and that following on this resurrection would come the triumph of the black man over the white. The prophet had heard of the Crimean War, and announced that the dead Kaffir chiefs would bring with them many Russian soldiers and attack the British. But one thing was necessary to secure this Millennium: the existing cattle and crops must be destroyed. A portion of the Kaffir tribes believed this rubbish. Some of the chiefs even who knew better, and who smiled at the imposture, encouraged it, thinking that after taking these desperate measures their men would stick at nothing, and would really break down the British power. Therefore, most of the Kosa Kaffirs set to work to slaughter their oxen and cut down their corn, and all looked forward eagerly to the dawning of February 18, 1857, on which date the resurrection was to take place. Nothing

happened, however, and the consequences of this hateful imposture were terrible. It is stated that 25,000 Kaffirs died of starvation, and nearly 100,000 others left British Kaffraria and the territories beyond the Kei to seek another home. Some 40,000 of these Kaffirs settled in Cape Colony, being taken into service there through the intervention of the Government, and from them, mixed with Hottentots and emancipated slaves, are descended the 'Cape Boys,' who have since attracted attention by their value as soldiers in suppressing the Matabele revolt. Sir George Grey in 1858 was obliged to send a military force against some of the Kaffir tribes rendered desperate by destitution, and they were driven for a time into Pondoland, British Kaffraria being annexed to Cape Colony, and the Transkei being taken under British protection. This Transkei territory was subsequently repeopled, partly with Fingo Kaffirs, and partly by the descendants of the Kaffir tribes who were ruined by the teaching of the false prophets. In 1877 the Galekas, a section of the Kosa tribe, commenced fighting the Fingos. They were joined later on by the Gaikas, another Kosa people, who had for long been dwelling peaceably in the Eastern Province, and during 1877 and 1878 the last Kaffir war raged, ending inevitably in conquest and submission.

The British had taken from the Dutch in 1651 the little island of St Helena[1] (in the Atlantic Ocean), the Dutch having previously taken it from the Portuguese in 1645. This island became of some value as a place of call for ships passing to and from India round the Cape. In 1815 it was selected as the place of banishment for the deposed Napoleon Bonaparte, and to make security doubly sure, the islands of Ascension, to

[1] Discovered by the Portuguese in 1502, its existence was kept secret by them until 1588, when Captain Cavendish returning from a cruise round the world suddenly lighted on it. The Dutch twice seized it and held it each time for a few months in 1665 and 1673. In this year it was definitely allotted to the East India Company.

the north, and Tristan d'Acunha, to the extreme south[1], were occupied also about the same time, and have remained British ever since. Whereas Ascension has always been managed directly by the British Admiralty, St Helena was from 1673 until 1815, and from 1821 to 1834 governed by the East India Company. In 1834 it became a Crown Colony. Tristan d'Acunha was occupied by a British garrison from 1815 to 1821, of which three men remained behind voluntarily and with some shipwrecked sailors started the existing colony, which is a self-governing community.

St Helena was profoundly affected by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. She lost nearly all the shipping which formerly sought her harbour, and three-quarters of her trade, but she is now beginning to recover prosperity to some degree as a valuable health resort, especially for the ships of the West African Squadron, and as a possible coaling station in time of war.

Cape Colony might also have suffered from the opening of the Suez Canal but that she was already beginning to build up an importance of her own, due to her exports of wool, hides, wine, and ostrich feathers. Moreover a happy discovery intervened which effectually guarded against any waning of interest in South Africa. In 1867 the first diamond was discovered near the Orange river, but it was not until 1870 that a large find of these precious stones was made near the site of modern Kimberley. This discovery of diamonds to the north of the Orange river, and in country of doubtful ownership, but claimed by the Orange Free State, drove the now awakened British Government to rather sharp practice. The diamond-bearing land was claimed by a Grikwa (Hottentot half-caste) chief named Waterboer. On the other hand, the Orange Free State asserted that it had acquired the greater part of the

[1] The largest of a little group of islets in the South Atlantic about 1260 miles west of the Cape of Good Hope.

country from the original Grikwa owners, and the northern part of Diamondland was claimed by the Transvaal. This last claim was submitted to the arbitration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, who awarded most of the diamond country to the Grikwa and Bechuana chiefs. These latter had really become the men of straw hiding the hand of the British Government. Finally, in 1871 Waterboer and other Grikwa chiefs ceded their rights to the British Government, who promptly erected the diamond country into a province under the name of Grikwaland West. The Orange Free State protested, and no doubt the action of the British Government was rather high-handed, and in rare contrast to the abnegatory policy usually pursued. Finally the claims of the Orange Free State were settled by Lord Carnarvon, who in 1876 awarded to its government the sum of £90,000 in consideration of the abandonment of their claim.

In 1845 Natal had been annexed to Cape Colony, but later on in the same year it was given a separate administration, consisting of a Lieutenant-Governor and an executive Council; though in legal matters it still remained dependent on Cape Town. But in 1848 a local Legislative Council was created, and finally in 1856 the colony was entirely severed from the Cape, and was endowed with a partially representative government. Some years previously the Governor of Cape Colony had been also created H.M. High Commissioner in South Africa, so that he might have power to represent the British Government outside the limits of Cape Colony. In this capacity therefore he still retains some authority over the government of Natal and its relations with the adjoining states. The influence of the High Commissioner extends over all Africa south of the Zambezi and the Portuguese West African possessions[1]. The territory of Natal was not capable for some time of any great extension, being girt about with Boer states and Negro tribes whose independence was to some extent

[1] It will also include Barotseland shortly, and will thus extend to the Congo Free State.

guaranteed by the Imperial Government. But in 1866 it received back a small territory on the south (the county of Alfred), which was within the original limits claimed by the founders of Natal, but had been for a time handed over to the Pondo chief. The settled government of Natal and the kindly attitude of the British Colonial Government brought about the repeopling of that fertile country by Kaffir tribes. This "Garden of South Africa" had been almost depopulated by the Zulu kings, who had slaughtered something like 1,000,000 natives from first to last. Before the rise of the Zulu tribe, Natal or 'Embo'[1] had been a thickly populated country. Under white rule the native immigration and population increased so rapidly that when the colony was only nine years old it contained 113,000 Kaffirs. The white colonists were of mixed origin, about one-third being the original Dutch settlers, while the remainder were either emigrants from Great Britain, Cape Colonials, or Germans. The German families mainly came from Bremen. At first the principal article of export was ivory, obtained from Zululand, where elephants still rioted in great numbers; but this was not to last long, for what with British sportsmen and Dutch hunters, and the introduction of firearms amongst the natives, big game was rapidly exterminated. Then, during the '50's, the sugar cane and the cotton plant were introduced[2], the export of sugar rising in 1872 to an annual value of £154,000. These semi-tropical plantations brought about a fresh want—that of patient, cheap, agricultural labourers. Unhappily, the black man, though so strong in body and so unaspiring in ideals, has as a rule a strong objection to continuous agricultural labour. His own needs are amply supplied by a few weeks' tillage scattered

[1] Or "Land of the Abambo," the name of one of the original Bantu tribes of the country. The root—*mbo* is very common as a tribal name among the Bantu, and occurs repeatedly in Central Africa.

[2] To which was added in later years tea (a great success) and coffee—the latter destroyed by the Ceylon coffee disease.

throughout the year; and even this is generally performed by the women of the tribe, the men being free to fight, hunt, fish, tend cattle, and loaf. Therefore, the 100,000 odd black men of Natal, though they made useful domestic servants and police, were of but little use in the plantations. As sugar cultivation was introduced from Mauritius, so with this introduction came naturally the idea of employing Indian Coolies, already taking the place in the Mascarene Islands which was formerly occupied by Negro slaves. In 1860 the first indentured Coolies reached Natal from India, and by the end of 1875 12,000 natives of British India were established in Natal. A number of these had passed out of their indentures, and had become free settlers and petty traders. Nowadays the Indian population of Natal has risen to something like 42,000. From Natal these British Indians have crept into the Transvaal, into the Orange Free State, and even into Bechuanaland and Rhodesia. Many of them are employed on the Natal railways, and in the towns they form a thriving class of petty traders. Here and there they have mingled with the Kaffirs, producing a rather fine-looking hybrid, similar in appearance to the black Portuguese on the Zambezi, who are descended from a cross between natives of Goa, in Portuguese India, and Zambezi Negroes. Added to the ordinary Coolie class are traders who belong partly to Tamul and other Dravidian races of South India and partly to coast tribes from Western India, mostly professing the Khoja faith. The Khojas are in a far-off way Muhammadans. The inhabitants of Natal have with great inaccuracy taken to calling these West Coast Indians "Arabs." This Indian element is likely to have its effect on the history of Natal. It is strongly unpopular amongst the white colonists for selfish reasons. On the whole, it is not unpopular amongst the blacks, but the idea of an eventual fusion between Negro and Indian is not an agreeable one to contemplate from the colonist's point of view, as it would create a race strong both mentally and physically, far outnumbering the whites, and

likely to make a dangerous struggle for supremacy. On the other hand, from the Imperial point of view,—from what I call the policy of the Black, White, and Yellow—it seems unjust that Her Majesty's Indian subjects should not be allowed to circulate as freely as those of her lieges who can claim European descent. Perhaps on the whole the solution which has been initiated in the British sphere north of the Zambezi is the best: namely, that Indian immigration should be drawn rather to those countries which are administered on the same lines as India than to the temperate regions south of the Zambezi, where the white man might be allowed to expand without let or hindrance.

The first railway worked in South Africa is said to have been a line connecting the town of Durban with the landing-place of its harbour, which was opened in 1860. But soon afterwards a railway began to start northwards from Cape Town to Paarl, and this was directed with many zigzags, and with a seeming aimlessness towards the Karoo. The discovery of the Diamond fields gave railway extension an objective, and Kimberley became the goal which was finally reached in 1885[1]. In 1872 the Cape Government by Act of Parliament took over the existing railways in Cape Colony, which then only consisted of a total length of 64 miles. Soon afterwards an expenditure on railway extension of £5,000,000 was authorized. In Natal a Government railway was commenced in 1876 connecting Durban with the capital, Pietermaritzburg. This line now traverses the Colony to the Transvaal border and in another direction enters the Orange Free State.

The history of Natal has been singularly peaceful and prosperous, as compared with the weary Kaffir warfare of the Eastern Province of Cape Colony. But in 1873 the natives of Natal required a lesson. On its north-western frontier the

[1] Twelve years later the railway line had traversed British Bechuanaland and had reached Buluwayo. It is now heading for the Zambezi.

Hlubi refugees from Zululand had been allowed to establish themselves under a chief of great importance, Langalibalele. His young men had gone to work in the Diamond fields of Kimberley, and had returned with guns, the introduction of which into the colony without registration was prohibited. Langalibalele, taking no notice of a summons to answer for this breach of the law, fled into Basutoland. Fortunately the Basuto gave him no support, and he was eventually captured and exiled for a time to Cape Colony. But this outbreak called attention to the great increase of the native population of Natal, and the unwisdom of allowing it any longer to remain under the government of the Kaffir chiefs. Accordingly in 1875 Sir Garnet, afterwards Viscount, Wolseley was sent to Natal to report on the native question, and initiated changes which had the effect of bringing the natives more completely under the control of the Executive, and approximating them more towards the position of citizens of the colony.

All this time diamonds had been attracting many emigrants to South Africa, chiefly from Great Britain, but also from France and Germany. Amongst these emigrants were a number of Jews belonging to all three nationalities, who were naturally attracted to the diamond trade. The growing interest felt in South Africa from the discovery of diamonds had not only tended to make the British Government very particular as to the exact rights it possessed in the vicinity of the Dutch republics, but also led it to revive its claims to the south shore of Delagoa Bay. The Portuguese Government, foreseeing this, had commenced to reassert its claim to that harbour in its boundary treaty with the Transvaal in 1869. In 1870–71 the British Government raised its claim in the manner I have already described in the chapter on Portuguese Africa. In 1872 Great Britain agreed to submit the question at issue to the arbitration of Marshal MacMahon, whose award, delivered in 1875, was wholly in favour of the Portuguese. But Great Britain had already secured from Portugal a promise, confirmed

by a more recent convention, that she should be allowed the right of pre-emption over Delagoa Bay[1]. During the '50's and '60's missionaries and traders had pushed due north across the Orange river, through Bechuanaland, to the Zambezi, and westward to Lake Ngami and Damaraland. During the '60's a good deal of trade was done in the last-mentioned country in ostrich feathers and ivory, and the Damara, who should more properly be known as the Ova-herero[2], came under European influence. Wars arising between the Damara and the Hottentot Namakwa, and the complaints of the German missionaries at work in these countries, brought about the despatch of a commissioner to Damaraland by the Cape Government. He reported in 1876 in favour of extending British protection over Damaraland, but all that Downing Street would concede was the annexation of Walfish Bay. (Twelve little islets off the S.W. coast had been annexed in 1867, because they were leased to a guano-collecting company.) A little later on another commissioner was despatched from the Cape to settle the intertribal quarrels north of the Orange river, and a further recommendation was sent home by the Governor; but Lord Kimberley, the new Colonial Secretary, definitely forbade the extension of any British influence over Namakwaland or Damaraland. In 1883 Germany directly questioned England as to whether she laid claim to territory north of the Orange river. An evasive reply was sent, in which delay was asked for so that the Cape Government could be consulted. Eventually the Germans were told that England laid claim to Walfish Bay and the Guano Islands only, but that the intervention of another Power between the Portuguese frontier and the Orange river would infringe legitimate British rights. The inaction of our Government on this occasion seems to us in

[1] To which was added later, over all Portuguese Africa south of the Zambezi.

[2] Damara is the Hottentot name applied to these black Bantu negroes, who call themselves Ova-herero, Ova-mbo, etc.

the present day, and by our modern lights, inconceivable. Literally the only reason they seem to have had in not politely declaring that South-West Africa was under British protection was the remote dread that they would have to protect German missionaries and traders.

But not only Downing Street in the greater degree but the Cape Government in the lesser was to blame for this stupid inactivity. The Cape Government at that time was directed by ministers who were much under purely colonial influence, and who, discouraged by their failure to administer Basutoland, had no very strong desire to spend the money of the colony in annexing and administering a vast territory mainly desert. Besides, the idea of Germany becoming a colonial power was laughed at in those days in Government circles as an impossibility. At length all doubts were ended by the declaration of a German protectorate over South-West Africa in 1884.

British missionaries during the '30's and 40's had crossed the Orange river and settled in Bechuanaland, a sterile plateau between the Namakwa and Kalahari deserts on the one hand, and the relatively well-watered regions of the Transvaal and Matabeleland on the other. By 1851, British sportsmen, roving afield after big game, and the great missionary-explorer Livingstone had reached the Zambezi, which till then was only known from the sea for about 500 miles inland. Livingstone's explorations on the Zambezi attracted the attention of the British Government, which at that time was much more interested from philanthropic motives in acquiring territories in Tropical Africa than in extending its influence over far more valuable regions which enjoyed a temperate climate. Livingstone was sent back with a fairly well-equipped expedition to explore Zambezia and discover the reported Lake Nyasa, then known as Lake Maravi. For five years his expedition traversed these countries, adding immensely to our geographical knowledge; but its members suffered terribly from ill-health. Although the Portuguese treated them with kindness, and put

no obstacle in their way, still Portuguese political susceptibilities were aroused. For this and other reasons,—one of them being that Earl Russell, a Whig, was Foreign Minister, and had no sympathy with the expansion of the British Empire—Livingstone was recalled, and his proposals in regard to Lake Nyasa quashed. Nevertheless, the seed had been sown, and produced a sparse crop of adventurers, elephant hunters, missionaries and traders, who found their way to Nyasaland. Livingstone himself resumed his explorations there, and an expedition, under Lieutenant Edward Young, R.N., which was sent to obtain news of him, kept the British in favourable remembrance amongst the natives. Finally, Livingstone's death revived missionary enthusiasm, and two strong Scotch missions in 1875–6 occupied the Shiré Highlands and the west coast of Lake Nyasa, putting a steamer on that lake. Two years later the African Lakes Trading Company sprang from missionary loins, and the Universities' Mission in 1881 advanced overland from Zanzibar to the east shore of Lake Nyasa.

In consequence of the increase of British interests in this quarter the British Government decided to establish a consulate for Lake Nyasa in 1883. Portuguese susceptibilities again became ruffled. Although no attempt had ever been made by Portugal to establish herself anywhere near Lake Nyasa, nor even on the river Shiré, which connects that lake with the Zambezi and the sea, it was felt in Portugal that the growing British settlements in Nyasaland should be made to contribute to the revenue of Portuguese East Africa, and that since through further extension they might force a way to the coast, it would be better that they should be brought under Portuguese control. Although the British Government was absolutely determined if possible not to assume direct responsibilities in Nyasaland, they were equally anxious that their subjects should be left a free hand, and not be fettered by Portuguese control. Therefore an attempt was made by Lord Granville (in the projected Congo Treaty of 1884) to define

the sphere of Portuguese influence on the Shiré, so as to leave the greater part of that river and all Nyasaland outside the Portuguese dominions. Had that Congo Treaty been ratified, there would probably never have been the Nyasa Question with the Portuguese. But it was not, and therefore Portugal was equally free with Great Britain to make the best use of her opportunities, which she did in the manner already described in Chapter II. The author of this book happened to be one of the principal agents employed in bringing Nyasaland under British protection, and in extending that protection to the west and north as far as the shores of Tanganyika and the boundary of the Congo Free State. As Mr Cecil Rhodes' agents had added thereto the Protectorate of the Barotse kingdom, the term "British Central Africa" seemed more fitted to describe this sphere in South-Central Africa than the restricted name of "Nyasaland." Treaties with Germany (1890) and Portugal (1891) having sanctioned these acquisitions north of the Zambezi, the administration of the new territory was divided between the Imperial Government—which decided to control the more organized territories round Lake Nyasa—and the newly-founded British South Africa Chartered Company. Between 1895 and 1898 the Chartered Company directed the administration and policing of its North Zambezia territories independently of the Protectorate; but in the summer of 1898 the Company placed its police force under the control of the officer commanding the troops in the British Central Africa Protectorate, and chose one of the Protectorate's officials to conduct its civil administration in the territories east of Barotse[1].

During the seven years' history of British Central Africa

[1] Eventually it would seem as though the Chartered Company would administer Rhodesia and Barotseland under the South African High Commissioner, while the administration of the territories east of the Kafue and north of the Zambezi will be fused with that of the British Central Africa Protectorate.

much has been effected in developing and making known these territories, which are unhappily too unhealthy to admit of much European colonization, though they will become of great value as tropical "plantation" colonies and as mining districts, and will support an abundant native population which in time to come will no doubt be governed on Indian lines. During these seven years the slave trade had to be met and conquered. Numerous Arabs from Zanzibar had established themselves in Nyasaland as sultans, and had Muhammadanized certain tribes and infused into them a dislike to European domination. The countries west of Lake Nyasa were ravaged by tribes of more or less Zulu descent, the remains of former Zulu invasions of Central Zambezia. In seven years, however, these enemies were all subdued by means of Sikh soldiers lent by the Indian Government, the native levies that were drilled by the Sikhs, and five gunboats, more or less worked by the Royal Navy, which were placed on the Zambezi, the Shiré, and on Lake Nyasa. Mr Rhodes began in 1893 his great scheme of connecting Cape Town with Cairo by a telegraph line. In five years he has at any rate connected Cape Town with Tanganyika through British Central Africa. These territories north of the Zambezi have proved peculiarly favourable to the cultivation of coffee, which was originally introduced by Scottish missionaries and planters, and which will probably end by making the fortune of this part of Africa, though these countries possess other valuable resources in vegetable products, in minerals, and in ivory.

During Lord Carnarvon's presence at the Colonial Office between 1874 and 1878 that enlightened statesman endeavoured to repeat in South Africa the success which had attended his consolidation of the North American colonies into one confederated Dominion. He sent out the historian Froude to represent him at the proposed conference of South African states. The great Sir George Grey had tried hard to bring about this unification of South Africa under the British flag

during the '50's, and in 1858 he pressed strongly upon the Imperial Parliament a scheme which would have well effected this now desired end. For his pains he was recalled and sharply reprimanded, but, mainly owing to the influence of the Queen, he was sent back to his governorship, though he was not allowed to carry out the far-reaching policy he had formulated. In Cape Colony the Federation Commission was appointed in 1872. But the always present, varyingly bitter dissidence of sympathies between the English and the Dutch-speaking settlers—a difficulty constantly discernible in the debates of the Cape Parliament—prevented any ripening of the federation idea, and Lord Carnarvon's commissioner, Mr Froude, was snubbed for his pains by the Cape Dutch. Foiled in one direction, Lord Carnarvon sought to effect his end in another way. He sent out Sir Bartle Frere to be Governor and High Commissioner at the Cape. He had been chosen by Lord Carnarvon six months before as the statesman most capable of consolidating the South African Empire; "within two years it was hoped that he would be the first Governor-General of the South African Dominion." The second step in what seemed to be the right direction was the annexation of the Transvaal. With this territory of about 120,000 square miles in extent in British hands there would only remain the Orange Free State as an obstacle to the unification of South Africa. The Transvaal as an independent state had between 1853 and 1877 come to grief. It was bankrupt, and it was powerless to subdue the powerful native tribes within its borders, some of whom had real wrongs to avenge. Moreover, it was threatened by Zulu invasion. It was therefore annexed by the British Commissioner, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, in the beginning of 1877.

Unfortunately, Sir Bartle Frere's administration, after two and a half years of excellent work, was clouded by unmerited misfortune. The Zulu power to the east of Natal had been growing threateningly strong. At the beginning of the present

century an obscure tribe of Kaffirs known as the Ama-zulu rose into prominence under a chief named Chaka, who became a kind of Negro Napoleon, but unhappily a great slaughterer. He and his chiefs included in their conquests all modern Natal and Zululand, much of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and Amatongaland up to Delagoa Bay[1]. Chaka's son, Dingane, though he most treacherously attacked the Boers, was fairly friendly in his relations with the British, and tolerated their establishment in Natal. In fact he seems to have allowed them to reorganize the territory of Natal which his father had almost depopulated. Owing to the founding of the Transvaal Republic and the Orange River Sovereignty in addition to the colony of Natal, the Zulus were henceforth shut up in a relatively small tract of South-East Africa represented by modern Zululand and Amatongaland; though the Amatonga were practically another people. Dingane was succeeded by Panda, and Panda by Cetywayo. The last-named perfected the system of a standing army of well-drilled bachelors. Anxious to find an outlet for his energies, he openly menaced the Transvaal, and was one of the causes of British intervention in that bedraggled republic. Shut off from this outlet, he seemed becoming dangerous, and, thinking it best to prick the bladder before it burst, Sir Bartle Frere forced war on him by an ultimatum. The invasion of Zululand at the outset was not very wisely conducted, and led to a terrible disaster by which eight hundred British troops were cut to pieces[2]; and subsequently through mismanagement the Prince Imperial of France, who had come out as a volunteer, was allowed to stray into danger, and be killed by the Zulus. After a time,

[1] Driven out of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal by the action of Boers, British, and Basuto, a section of the Zulus conquered much of Portuguese South-East Africa, nearly all modern "Rhodesia," and carried their raids past Nyasa and Tanganyika to the vicinity of the Victoria Nyanza.

[2] And over four hundred native soldiers.

however, Lord Chelmsford succeeded in completely conquering the country, and Cetywayo was taken prisoner. Although Sir Bartle Frere was in no way answerable for these mistakes in a campaign which was eventually completely successful, his prestige was dimmed, and as the Liberal Government of 1880 was inclined to pursue a reactionary policy in Africa, Sir Bartle Frere was recalled.

The Boers, taking advantage of British discouragement and the change of government in England, rose and demanded their independence. It was refused by Mr Gladstone's administration, and troops were hastily sent out to subdue them, with the result I have detailed in Chapter IV. As to the after history of Zululand, it may be briefly summarized as follows. The Boers were allowed to add a large slice of the country to their reorganized republic. Cetywayo was reinstated as king, but soon died. The country was then divided into various native principalities, but Dinizulu, Cetywayo's son, fomented an insurrection and was exiled to St Helena. The country was then governed more or less as a British protectorate by the able Sir Marshall Clarke and in connection with the colony of Natal, the Governor of which was also made Governor of Zululand. In 1897 Zululand was incorporated with the colony of Natal. In 1887 British protection was extended over Amatongaland up to the Portuguese boundary, and in 1895 this strip of coast territory was taken under more direct administration.

As was related in Chapter IV, the Dutch Republic of the Transvaal soon after recovering its independence sought to invade and absorb Bechuanaland, but the expedition under Sir Charles Warren put an end to their hopes in that direction, and a clear path was made for the British northwards to the Zambezi. In the early '70's, explorations of men like Baines and the German Karl Mauch had revealed the existence of gold in the countries between the Limpopo and the Zambezi, countries which had come under the sway of a

Zulu king, Lobengula, son of Umsilikasi[1]. Mr Cecil John Rhodes, an Englishman who had brought about the consolidation of the mines at Kimberley and had acquired great wealth and a position of political importance at the Cape, had interested himself firstly in the settlement of the Bechuana Question with the Boers; and when Bechuanaland had been declared a British protectorate his thoughts turned to the possibility of gold beyond; for the gold discoveries in the Transvaal were beginning to make a golden South Africa dawn on men's imaginations. He despatched envoys to Lobengula, and secured from him the right to mine. Other individuals or syndicates had secured mining rights in that direction, but Mr Rhodes with patience and fair dealing bought up or absorbed these rights, and in 1888 began to think of obtaining a charter from the Imperial Government which would enable the Company he intended to form to govern South-Central Africa. At one time he seems to have thought that the De Beers diamond mining company should receive this charter and perform these functions, for when he had framed the articles of association of the De Beers shareholders he had inserted clauses enabling the Company to take up such an enterprise. But there were many reasons why this would not have worked well, and it was resolved to constitute an independent company to work Lobengula's concession first, and to create another South African state afterwards. Already in 1888 the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, had somewhat reluctantly extended a vague form of protection over Lobengula's country, and it had been made clear to Germany that Great Britain would not submit to be cut off from the Zambezi. In the early summer of 1889 a charter was granted to the British South Africa Company, of which Mr Rhodes became and remained the practical administrator. Mr Rhodes' ambitions then crossed the Zambezi, and he

[1] A rebellious General of Chaka's, often known by his Bechuana name, "Mosilikatsi."

co-operated with the present writer in establishing British influence up to Tanganyika. For several years his Company afforded a subsidy to the administration of the British Central Africa Protectorate as well as to the territories under the Company's own control. The African Lakes Company was given financial support, and enabled to extend its operations to Tanganyika. In 1891 Mr Rhodes commenced the organization of the East Coast Route from Mashonaland to the sea, and he and his friends practically subscribed the capital for the Beira Railway. Fort Salisbury and other settlements in Mashonaland and on the East of Matabeleland were founded between 1891 and 1893. In the last-named year the Matabele made an entirely unprovoked attack on the Company's forces, and a counter-invasion most ably directed by Dr Jameson achieved a complete victory over the Matabele. King Lobengula fled, and died soon after he had crossed the Zambezi. His capital, Buluwayo, became the administrative capital of the Company's possessions, to which the inclusive name of Rhodesia was subsequently given. The development of Rhodesia proceeded apace. Mr Rhodes had since 1890 been Premier of Cape Colony, he was high in favour with the Dutch Party in South Africa, and he was fast becoming the actual, if not nominal Dictator of Africa south of the Zambezi when he made the fatal mistake of organizing a raid into the Transvaal. Since then his special province has undergone severe trials, from which, however, it is emerging with every sign of future prosperity. Mr Rhodes has done much to atone for his one mistake by the enormous pecuniary sacrifices he has made in pushing on the railway to Beira and the Zambezi, and in constructing the telegraph line from Mafeking to Tanganyika. There are signs that he will recover to a considerable extent his influence in Cape Colony, and he may yet play a great part in South Africa.

After dealing with such striking events, such potent

personages and vast territories, it is rather an anti-climax to have to treat of the little island of Mauritius, which is not as large as the county of Surrey, and which, with the exception of its first Governor—Sir Robert Farquhar—has produced no great administrator, but has rather served as the happy hunting ground of peevish recreants, like the late Sir John Pope Hennessy. Mauritius was taken by the British from the French in 1810. The French had known it by the name of Isle de France, but the British revived the older Dutch name of Mauritius. The French had introduced the sugar cane and other valuable plants, and these plantations were half-heartedly cultivated by means of slave labour until the slave trade was abolished. Then, in the '50's, Indian coolie labour was introduced with great success, and now the inhabitants of Indian descent in the colony number nearly 100,000, while Indian half-breeds are still more numerous. The European population is almost entirely of French descent, and the marked French sympathies of the white inhabitants have sometimes caused a dissonance between the Governor and the governed, though ample concessions have been made to the Mauritians by the equal recognition afforded to French laws and the French language. Nevertheless, in spite of these political questions, and the occasional hurricanes which visit the island with disaster, it is a prosperous colony in ordinary years, and only has to appeal to the Step-Mother Country for assistance on such rare occasions as when unusually great damage has been done by cyclones.

Numerous small islands in the Indian Ocean are dependent on the Government of Mauritius. All had much the same history—discovered by Portugal, they were eventually utilized by France, and finally captured and annexed by England. The most important among these Mauritian dependencies are the Seychelles group, the Island of Rodriguez, and the Oil Islands Group (Diego Garcia).

CHAPTER X.

GREAT EXPLORERS.

THE colonization of Africa in all its earlier stages is so closely akin to exploration, that in several of the preceding chapters I have seemed to deal rather with geographical discoveries than with political settlement. But as there is much exploring work which has not been directly connected with colonization (just as all missionary work has not resulted in the foundation of European states in Africa, nor have measures for the suppression of the slave trade invariably given rise to annexation) I think it better to devote a chapter to the enumeration of great explorers whose work has proved to be an indirect cause of the ultimate European control now established over nearly all Africa.

The first explorers known to history, though not, unfortunately, mentioned by name, were those Phœnicians despatched by the Egyptian Pharaoh Necho (son of Psammetik) about 600 B.C. to circumnavigate Africa. We only receive our knowledge of them through Herodotus, who derived his information from Egypt; but the account given of the voyage bears the stamp of veracity and probability.

Cambyses, the Persian king who invaded Egypt in 525 B.C., is said to have lost his life in endeavouring to trace the course of the Nile, he and his army having disappeared in the deserts of Upper Nubia. About 520 B.C. Hanno the

Carthaginian, as already related in Chapter I, conducted an expedition round the West coast of Africa, which penetrated about as far south as the confines of Liberia.

The Greek Herodotus journeyed in Egypt and in the Cyrenaica about 450 B.C. Eratosthenes, a Greek, born at Cyrene in 276 B.C., became the librarian of one of the Ptolemies at Alexandria, and, although he derived much of his information about the valley of the Nile from other travellers, still he conducted a certain amount of exploration himself. Polybius, a Greek, born in 204 B.C., explored much of the North coast of Africa in the service of the Romans about 140 years before the Christian Era.

The celebrated Strabo flourished during the reign of Augustus Cæsar, and wrote a great work on geography about the year A.D. 19. He accompanied the Roman governor Ælius Gallus on a journey up the Nile as far as Philæ, though his knowledge of the Cyrenaica was limited to a journey along the coast. Nero sent two centurions (according to Pliny) with orders to ascend the Nile and discover its source. Thanks to recommendations from the king of Ethiopia, they were passed on from tribe to tribe, and apparently ascended the Nile as far as its junction with the Sobat, where they were stopped by immense masses of floating vegetation (the *sudd*).

Though Pliny the Elder[1] does not appear to have visited Africa, or at any rate to have carried his explorations farther than a trip to Alexandria and visits to the ports along the Barbary coast, he nevertheless did much to collect and edit the geographical knowledge of the day; and has thus transmitted to our knowledge the slender information which the Romans possessed of interior Africa during the early years of the Empire. Pliny is remarkable for having handed down to us the first mention of the Niger, which he calls Nigir or Nigris

[1] Caius Plinius Secundus: born at Verona or Como A.D. 23. His geographical publication or *Natural History* was published (says Sir E. Bunbury) in A.D. 77.

and somewhat confounds with the humbler river Draa to the south of Morocco.

About the middle of the second century of the Christian Era there flourished in Egypt the famous geographer called Claudius Ptolemæus, better known to us as 'Ptolemy.' Though he also was mainly a compiler and owed much of his information to the works on geography published by his predecessor or contemporary, Marinus of Tyre, yet it seems probable that he travelled up the Nile for a certain distance, and visited the African coasts along the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. At any rate he published the most extended account of African geography given by any classical writer. His account of the Nile lakes, of the East African coast and of the Sahara Desert are the nearest approach to actuality of any geographer before the Muhammadan epoch.

With the decline of the Roman Empire came a cessation of all geographical exploration, and there was no revival until the Muhammadan invaders of Africa had attained sufficient civilization to record their journeys and observations. Masudi and Ibn Haukal in the 10th century, and other Arab travellers whose wanderings have not been recorded, furnished from their journeys information embodied in the map of Idris or Edrisi drawn up by a Sicilian Saracen geographer for Count Robert of Sicily in the 12th century. By these journeys the first definite and reliable information about the geography of Africa south of the Sahara, and along the East coast to Zanzibar and Sofala was brought to European knowledge. Ibn Batuta, a native of Morocco, in the 14th century[1], and Leo Africanus (a Spanish Moor who afterwards turned Christian), in the 16th century, had visited the Niger and the regions round Lake Chad. The geographical enterprise of the Moors communicated itself to their conquerors, the Portuguese. Besides their great navigators, the Portuguese sent out overland explorers,

[1] Visited the Upper Niger in 1352.

the first, named Joaõ Fernandez, having in 1445 explored the Sahara Desert inland from the Rio d'Ouro. It is stated that Pero d'Evora and Gonçalvez Eannes actually travelled overland in 1487 from Senegambia to Timbuktu; but doubt has been thrown on their having reached this distant city; they may possibly have got as far as Jenne. Much more real and important were the explorations of Pero de Covilhaõ, who travelled in Abyssinia in 1490 on his return from India, and remained in that country for the rest of his life. Passing over Francisco Barreto, who explored Zambezia more for immediate political purposes in 1569 and subsequent years, we may next note the journey of a Portuguese gentleman named Jaspar Bocarro, who in 1616 made a journey overland from the central Zambezi, across the river Shiré, near Lake Nyasa and the Ruvuma river, and thence to the east coast at Mikindani. From Mikindani he continued his journey to Malindi by sea. In the 17th century two Portuguese Jesuit missionaries, Pedro Paez, and Jeronimo Lobo explored Abyssinia, even far to the south. Paez visited the source of the Blue Nile, and Lobo directed his travels to the quasi-Christian states to the south of Abyssinia. Numbers of unnamed, unremembered Portuguese soldiers and missionaries must have plunged into the interior of Africa between 1445 and the end of the 17th century, bringing back jumbled information of lakes and rivers and Negro states; but their information has perished—except in an indirect form—and their names are lost to history.

In 1520 Andrew Battel, a fisherman of Leigh in Essex, was rescued from the Indians of Brazil by a Portuguese ship, which started for the coast of Angola to trade for slaves. The vessel reached Benguela at a time when it was being ravaged by the predatory "Jagas[1]." The Portuguese being obliged to

[1] Probably identical with the Ba-yaka or Wa-yaka of the Kwango river to the N.W. of Angola.

leave a hostage with the Jagas, left Battel behind, and in the company of these wild people he seems to have traversed much of the Congo country behind Angola before he eventually reached the coast again near a Portuguese fort, where he was allowed by the Jagas to leave them and return to his own land. He appears to have roamed over South-West Africa for nearly 18 years, and he brought back with him fairly truthful accounts of the pigmy races, the anthropoid apes, and some of the big game which penetrates the interior of Benguela from the south.

At the commencement of the 17th century, William Lithgow, a Scottish traveller, visited Tunis and Algeria. In 1618 the London Company of Adventurers despatched George Thompson, who had already travelled in Barbary, to explore the river Gambia. During his absence up the river the ship by which he had come from England was seized, and the crew murdered by Portuguese and half-caste slave traders, who resented this invasion of their special domain. Thompson managed to send back word of his difficulties, and the Company of Adventurers sent out another small ship. After sending her back with letters, Thompson continued his journeys for a distance of about 80 miles above the mouth of the Gambia. Thompson, however, lost his head, became fantastic in his notions, and is supposed to have been killed by the natives. A third vessel was sent out from London, commanded by Richard Jobson, to inquire after Thompson's fate. His first voyage, though he reached the point where Thompson had disappeared, was not very successful. On his return from Gravesend with two ships in 1620, he sailed up the Gambia to a place called Kasson, where dwelt an influential Portuguese who had been the instigator of the destruction of his predecessor's ship. This man fled at Jobson's approach, and the latter continued on his way till he reached Tenda, where Thompson had disappeared. He then travelled in boats far above the Barraconda Rapids.

Then followed the journey of Jannequin de Rochefort and his companions in Senegal, and the still more important ex-

plorations of Brüe and Campagnon in the same region, journeys which have been referred to in Chapter VII. During the reign of king Charles II a Dutch or Anglicized Dutch merchant, named Vermuyden, asserted that he had ascended the Gambia and reached a country beyond, full of gold, but the truth of this story is open to considerable suspicion. In 1723 Captain Bartholomew Stibbs, and later still a man named Harrison, repeated Jobson's explorations of the Gambia. In 1720–'30 Dr Shaw, an Englishman, travelled in Egypt, Algeria[1] and Tunis, and gave the first fairly accurate account of the Barbary States which had been received since they became Muhammadanized. About the same time, Sonnini, an Italian, explored Egypt, and gave the first modern account of that country. In 1768–'73 James Bruce, a Scotchman of good family, who had been educated at Harrow, and had spent two-and-a-half years as Consul at Algiers, travelled first in Tunis, Tripoli, and Syria. He then entered Egypt, and, becoming interested in the Nile question, he voyaged down the Red Sea to Massawa, and journeyed to Gondar, the capital of Abyssinia. Having some knowledge of medicine, he found favour with the authorities, and was given a command in the Abyssinian cavalry. After many disappointments, his ardent wish was granted, and he arrived at what he believed to be the sources of the Nile, but which really were the head waters of the Blue Nile, to the south of Abyssinia. He journeyed home by way of Sennār and the Nubian Desert to Cairo. In 1793 William George Browne, a Londoner, and a member of Oriel College, Oxford, attracted by the accounts of Bruce's travels, entered Egypt, and crossed the Libyan Desert from Asiut to Darfur in 1793. There he was treated extremely badly by the sultan of the country, and practically endured a captivity of three years before he succeeded in returning to Egypt.

During the 18th century rumours had gradually been taking shape in the belief that there was a great river in Western

[1] Where he was British Chaplain.

Africa on whose banks stood the famous city of Timbuktu. This river was identified with Pliny's Nigris or Niger[1]. At first it was thought that the Niger was the Gambia or Senegal, but at last it was believed that the Niger must rise southward, beyond the sources of these rivers, and flow to the eastward. Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, who had accompanied Cook on his journey round the world, joined with other persons of distinction, and formed the African Association on the 19th of June, 1788, with the special object of exploring the Niger. At first they resolved to try from the North coast of Africa or from Egypt, but these expeditions proving unsuccessful, an attempt was made to march into the unknown from Sierra Leone. Major Houghton, who had been Consul in Morocco, was employed amongst other travellers, and he succeeded in passing through Bambuk on his way to Timbuktu; but he was intercepted by the Moors of the Sahara, robbed, and left to die naked in the desert. From Egypt a German traveller named Frederic Hornemann was despatched by the same association. He reached Fezzan, set out on a journey to Bornu, and was never heard of afterwards[2]. In 1795 the zealous Association accepted the services of a young Scotch surgeon named Mungo Park, and sent him out to discover the Niger from the West coast. Mungo Park started at the age of 24, having had a previous experience in scientific exploration as assistant surgeon on an East Indiaman, which had made a voyage to Sumatra. Park reached Pisania, a station high up the Gambia River, in 1795. He started at the end of that year, and after crossing the Senegal river and going through many adventures, he entered

[1] Pliny and one or two succeeding classical geographers mention the Ger or Gir and the Niger as rivers of Western Africa, the former being possibly the river Draa. Both words may be derived from Berber roots.

[2] It is said that he was the ancestor or a relative of the founder of a famous tea firm, whose tea—as the present writer can testify—is found on sale in the bazaars of the Saharan towns.

the Moorish countries of Kaarta and Ludamar to the north-east. Hence, after enduring captivity and great hardships, he escaped, and gradually found his way to the Niger at Sego, and struggled along the river till he was within about 200 miles of Timbuktu. His return journey was attended by such hardships that one marvels at the physical strength which brought him through alive. However, at last he reached Bamaku, and thence after almost incredible difficulties returned to Pisania on the Gambia, about a year and a quarter after setting out thence to discover the Niger. Owing to his return voyage taking him to the West Indies, he did not reach England till the 22nd of December, 1797, after performing a journey which even if he had not subsequently become the Stanley of the Niger would have made him lastingly famous. London received him with enthusiasm, but after the first novelty had worn off a period of forgetfulness set in. Park married, and settled down in Peebles as a medical practitioner. But in process of time the influence of the African Association filtered even into the stony heart of a Government department, and it was resolved by the Colonial Office (then a branch of the War Office) to send Mungo Park back to continue his exploration of the Niger. He was given £5,000 for his expenses, and an ample outfit of stores and arms and other equipment. He held a Captain's commission, and was allowed to select soldiers from the garrison of Goree. He took his brother-in-law with him as second in command, a draughtsman named Scott, and several boatbuilders and carpenters. At Goree he selected one officer, 35 privates, and two seamen. The party left the Gambia in 1805. They were soon attacked with fever, and by the time they had reached the Niger only seven out of the 38 soldiers and seamen who had left Goree were living. Descending the Niger past Sego, Mungo Park built a rough and ready kind of boat at Sansanding, which he named the Joliba. By this time his party had been reduced to five, including himself. On the 12th of November, 1805, they set

out from Sansanding (whence they sent back to the Gambia their letters and journals) to trace the Niger to its mouth. Mungo Park was never heard from any more. It was ascertained, by the information which could be subsequently gathered from native traders and slaves, that Mungo Park's party met with constant opposition from the natives in their descent of the river, with the result that they were continually fighting. After Mungo Park entered the Hausa-speaking countries of Sokoto the enmity of the natives increased, apparently because he was unable to pay his way with presents. At last, at Busa, where further navigation was obstructed by rocks, the natives closed in on him. Finding no way of escape, Park jumped into the river with Martin, and was drowned. After Park's death, Major Peddie, Captain Campbell, Major Gray, and Dr Dochard all strove to follow in Park's footsteps from the direction of the Gambia, but all died untimely deaths from fever, though Dr Dochard succeeded in reaching Sego on the Niger.

The presence of the Dutch in South Africa did not lead to great explorations. Such journeys as were made were chiefly parallel to the coast. In 1685 Commander Van der Stel explored Namakwaland within a very short distance of the Orange river; but it was some 60 years later before that river was actually discovered by a Boer elephant hunter, and its discovery made known scientifically by an expedition under Captain Hop in 1701. This expedition obtained several giraffes, which were sent home by Governor Tulbagh, and were the first to reach Europe. In 1777 Captain Robert Jacob Gordon, a Scotchman in the service of the Dutch East India Company, discovered the Orange river at its junction with the Vaal. Subsequently Captain Gordon with Lieutenant William Patterson, an Englishman, made a journey overland from the Namakwa country to the mouth of the Orange river, which they ascended for 30 or 40 miles. They christened what the Dutch had hitherto called the "Great (Groote) river" the "Orange river," out of compliment to the Stadhouder.

There is also a rumour that two Dutch commissioners Truster and Sommerville went on a cattle-purchasing expedition in 1801 beyond the Orange river, and penetrated through the Bechuana country to the vicinity of Lake Ngami.

Fired by the news of African discoveries, Portugal awoke from one of her secular slumbers in 1798—as she similarly awoke in 1877—and despatched Dr Francisco José Maria de Lacerda to the Zambezi, to attempt a journey across Africa from East to West. The results of this first really scientific exploration of Central Africa have been touched on in Chapter II. It may be sufficient to mention here that Dr de Lacerda travelled up the Zambezi to Tete, and from Tete, north-westwards to the vicinity of Lake Mweru, near the shores of which he died. He had been preceded by two Goanese of the name of Pereira. In the beginning of the present century two half-caste Portuguese named Baptista and Amaro José crossed Africa from the Kwango river, behind Angola, to Tete on the Zambezi. In 1831 Major Monteiro and Captain Gamitto repeated Dr de Lacerda's journey from Tete to the Kazembe's country, near Lake Mweru, and in 1846 a Portuguese merchant at Tete named Candido de Costa Cardoso, claimed to have sighted the south-west corner of Lake Maravi (Nyasa). To return again to South Africa—British rule brought about a great development in exploration. Campbell, a Scotch missionary, in 1812 laid down the course of the Orange river on the map and discovered the source of the Limpopo. Captain (afterwards General Sir J. E.) Alexander made an interesting journey overland from Cape Town to Walfish Bay; Dr William Burchell and Captain William Cornwallis Harris[1] explored Bechuanaland and the Transvaal and added much to our knowledge of the great African fauna. Moffat and other

[1] Afterwards Sir William C. Harris. He explored Shoa (South of Abyssinia) in 1841–2, and was knighted for concluding a treaty on behalf of the Government of India with the King of Shoa.

missionaries extended our knowledge of Bechuanaland: Angas illustrated Zululand: Major Vardon explored the Limpopo.

In the first decade of the 19th century Henry Salt (formerly British Consul-General in Egypt) explored Abyssinia and the Zanzibar Coast. In 1822 Captain Owen left England with two ships, and spent four years exploring the East and West coasts of Africa, and the island of Madagascar. He especially added to our knowledge of Delagoa Bay and the vicinity. He directed the first voyage of discovery up the Zambezi, which unhappily ended in the death of all the Europeans. The limit reached was Sena. The east and west coasts of Africa were delimited by Captain Owen with the first approach to real accuracy. Although he was not an overland explorer, his voyage marks a most important epoch in African discovery, and many of his surveys are still in use.

Mungo Park and others having entertained the idea that the Niger might find its ultimate outlet to the sea in the river Congo, an expedition was sent out in 1816 to explore the Congo river. It was a naval expedition, of course, and the command was given to Captain Tuckey. He surveyed the river to the Yellala Falls, and carried his expedition inland to near these rapids, and the modern station of Isangila. Unfortunately, he and nearly all the officers of his expedition died of fever, but his journey, being conducted on scientific lines, resulted in considerable additions to our knowledge of Bantu Africa, its peoples, languages, and flora.

Major Laing, a Scotchman, who had already in 1823 distinguished himself by exploring the source of the Rokel river of Sierra Leone, practically locating the source of the Niger and ascertaining its altitude, determined in 1825 to strike out a new departure in the search for Timbuktu. He started from Tripoli, journeyed to Ghadames and the oasis of Twat, and thence struck across the desert to the Niger over a route which may some day be followed by a French trans-Sahara railway. He was attacked on the way by the detestable

Tawareq, who left him for dead, bleeding from twenty-four wounds. Still, he recovered, and actually entered Timbuktu on the 18th of August, 1826. Being advised by the people to leave because of their dislike to the presence of a Christian, he started to return across the desert, but was killed, it is supposed, at El Arwan by the bloodthirsty Tawareq.

French names amongst explorers were wanting since the journeys of Brüe and Campagnon at the beginning of the 18th century, though Le Vaillant, as a naturalist, made small but very interesting explorations in South Africa. But with the beginning of the 19th century, and the recovery of their Senegalese possessions, Frenchmen resumed the exploration of the Dark Continent. In 1804 Rubault, an official of the Senegal Company, explored the desert country between the Senegal and the Gambia, and the upper waters of the Senegal. In 1818 Gaspard Mollien discovered the source of the Gambia, and explored Portuguese Guinea. In 1824 and 1825 De Beaufort visited the country of Kaarta to the north-east of the Senegal. Then came Caillé, who reached Timbuktu and returned thence to Morocco in 1827, a journey discussed for its political importance in Chapter VII.

The British Government, still pegging away at the Niger country, was roused to fresh exertions by Caillé's journey. Impressed by the success with which Laing had penetrated Central Africa from Tripoli, it resolved to try that Regency[1] as a basis of discovery. Mr Ritchie and Captain George Lyon started from Tripoli in 1818, and reached the country of Fezzan. Here Ritchie died, and Lyon did not get beyond the southernmost limit of that country. On his return a second expedition was organized under Dr Walter Oudney (who was actually appointed Political Agent to Bornu before that country had been discovered by Europeans!), Lieutenant

[1] Then nearly independent of Turkey, and ruled by the Karamanli dynasty of Turkish pashas.

Hugh Clapperton, and Lieutenant Dixon Denham. Starting from Tripoli in the spring of 1822, they were compelled to halt there by the obstacles that were placed in their way. Denham, an impulsive, energetic man, rushed back to Tripoli to remonstrate with the Basha, and receiving nothing but empty verbal assurances, started for Marseilles with the intention of proceeding to England, but he was recalled by the Basha of Tripoli, who henceforth placed no obstacles in his way. During his absence the expedition had visited the town of Ghat, far down in the Sahara. In 1823 this expedition reached the Sudan, and its members were the first Europeans to discover Lake Chad. They then visited Bornu and the Hausa state of Kano, where Dr Oudney died. After Oudney's death, Clapperton proceeded to Sokoto, and very nearly reached the Niger, but was prevented from doing so by the jealousy of the Fula sultan of Sokoto. Whilst Major Denham was remaining behind in Bornu there arrived with a supply of stores a young man named Toole, who had traversed the long route from Tripoli to Bornu almost alone, and had made the journey from London in four months. Denham and Toole explored the eastern and southern shores of Lake Chad, and discovered the Shari river, after which the unfortunate Toole died. Denham and Clapperton then returned to Tripoli[1]. The British Government sent Clapperton back to discover the outlet of the Niger. He landed at Badagri, in what is now the British colony of Lagos. He lost his companions one by one, with the exception of his invaluable servant Richard Lander. Clapperton passed through Yorubaland, and actually struck the Niger at the Busa Rapids, near where Park and his company perished. From Busa Clapperton and his party travelled through Nupe, and the Hausa states of Kano and

[1] Denham, who had really rendered great services in the cause of exploration, was rewarded—in the contemptuous fashion of that day—with the post of Superintendent of the slave settlement at Fernando Po, where he soon died.

Sokoto; but he arrived at an unfortunate time, when Sokoto was at war with Bornu, and the Fula sultan was much too suspicious of Clapperton's motives to help him in the exploration of the Niger. From fever and disappointment Clapperton died at Sokoto on the 13th of April, 1827. It was a great pity that he went there at all. What he should have done on reaching Busa was to work his way down from Busa to the sea. All his companions, except his servant Lander, had predeceased him. Lander now endeavoured to trace the Niger to the sea, but the Fula sultan still opposed him, and he was stripped of nearly all the property of the expedition before he could leave Sokoto. Eventually he made his way back to Badagri by much the same route that Clapperton had followed. Lander was a Cornishman, a man of short stature, but pleasing appearance and manners. He had had a slight education as a boy, but learned a good deal more in going out to service as page, footman, and valet. In this last-named capacity he had journeyed on the continent of Europe and in South Africa before accompanying Clapperton. When he returned to England his story did not arouse much interest, as Arctic explorations had replaced Africa in the thoughts of a volatile society. Moreover, the ultimate course of the Niger had by a process of exhaustion almost come to be guessed aright. As far back as 1808 Reichardt of Weimar had suggested that the Niger reached the Atlantic in the Gulf of Guinea through the Oil rivers. Later on James McQueen, who as a West Indian planter had cross-examined many slaves on the subject of the Niger, not only showed that this river obviously entered the sea in the Bight of Benin, but predicted that this great river would some day become a highway of British commerce. Somewhat grudgingly, the Government agreed to send Lander and his brother back to Africa, poorly endowed with funds. Not discouraged, however, the Landers arrived at Badagri in March, 1830, and reached the Niger at Busa after an overland journey of three months. Meeting with no opposition from

the natives, they paddled down stream for two months in canoes. At length they reached the delta, but there unfortunately fell into the power of a large fleet of Ibo war canoes. By the Ibos they were likely to have been killed but for the remonstrances of some Muhammadan teachers, who, oddly enough, were found with this fleet. However, the king of Brass, a trading settlement on the coast, happened to be visiting the Ibo chief, and agreed to ransom the Lander brothers on condition of receiving from them a 'bill' agreeing to repay to the king the value of the goods which he had furnished for their redemption. They reached the sea at the mouth of the Brass river, one of the confluents of the Niger, but not the main stream. An English merchant ship was anchored there, the Landers went delightedly on board, thinking that the end of their troubles had come, and asked the captain to honour their bill the amount of which the Government would repay him. To their amazement he refused, and altogether behaved in such a disgraceful manner that it is a pity his name has not been preserved for infamy. However, they managed on this ship to get a passage across to Fernando Po, where they landed. The ship by which they travelled, and the master of which treated them so badly, was afterwards captured by a pirate and never heard of again.

No great fuss was made over Lander when he returned in 1831. He afterwards joined the MacGregor Laird expedition for opening up the Niger. This commercial undertaking met with the most awful disasters from sickness, but MacGregor Laird nevertheless succeeded in discovering the Benue, and ascended it for some distance. In 1833 Lander and Dr Oldfield ascended the Niger from the Nun mouth as far as Rabba, and explored the Benue for 140 miles above its junction with the Niger. After returning from a third trip up the Niger Lander was attacked by savages in the delta, and was severely wounded, dying from his wounds at Fernando Po on the 6th of February, 1834.

In 1840–'41 Mr Beecroft, superintendent of Fernando Po, and afterwards first consul for the Bights of Biafra and Benin, explored not only the Niger, but made known for the first time the Cross river, to the east, which he ascended from Old Calabar to the rapids. In 1841 the British Government sent out an important surveying expedition to the Niger under four naval officers. This expedition was despatched at the instigation of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, the philanthropist, who had thrown himself heart and soul into the anti-slavery movement. At this period philanthropy reigned supreme in England, and a sense of humour was in abeyance, though it was beginning to bubble up in the pages of Dickens, who has so deliciously satirized this Niger expedition in "Bleak House" with its inimitable Mrs Jellyby and her industrial mission of Borriaboola-Gha. The ghastly unhealthiness of the lower Niger was ignored, and an item in the programme of the expedition was the establishment of a model farm at the junction of the Benue and the Niger. The other aims of the expedition were nicely balanced between the spreading of Christian civilization and the suppression of the slave trade on the one hand and the zealous pushing of Manchester goods on the other. Numerous treaties were made, but the results of the expedition were disappointment and disaster, occasioned by utter ignorance of the conditions under which a small degree of health might be retained, and a muddle-headed indecision as to the practical results which were to be secured by the opening up of the Niger. The loss of life was enormous. Still, in spite of this check, British traders gradually crept into and up the Niger, with the results detailed in Chapter VI.

In 1836 John Davidson, an Englishman of considerable attainments, started from the Atlantic coast of Morocco for Timbuktu, but was murdered at Tenduf, in the Sahara Desert.

In 1849 the British Government determined to make another effort to open up commercial relations with the Niger and Central Africa, but resolved again to try the overland

route from Tripoli. After the Napoleonic wars were finished, the British Government had sent out various surveying parties to map the coasts of Africa, and a well-equipped expedition under Admiral Beechey made a thorough investigation of the coasts of Tripoli and Barka in 1821 and 1822, and sent back the first trustworthy accounts of the Greek ruins of the Cyrenaica. Since that time several consular representatives of Great Britain in Tripoli have carried on explorations in the interior. Among these was James Richardson, who had originally accompanied Admiral Beechey, and who further made most important explorations of the Tripolitan Sahara, discovering many interesting rock paintings and inscriptions. He was appointed to be the head of this overland expedition of 1849, and associated with him were two Germans, Barth and Overweg. Dr Henry Barth was born at Hamburg in the year 1821. He had travelled extensively in Asia Minor, in Mediterranean Africa, and up the Nile.

This expedition left Tripoli in the spring of 1850, and reached Bornu without any difficulty. Here its members separated, Richardson died soon afterwards and was buried near Lake Chad. Overweg died in 1852, having been the first European to navigate Lake Chad[1]. He was buried on the shores of this lake. For the next four years Barth carried on gigantic explorations on his own account. He journeyed from Lake Chad along the river Komadugu, and thence across northern Hausaland to the Niger at Say. From Say he cut across the bend of the Niger to Timbuktu, and descended the river back to Say, and thence to Sokoto, from which he made his way to Kukawa in Bornu, where he met Dr Vogel and two non-commissioned officers of the Royal Engineers, who had been sent by the British Government to reinforce his expedition. Barth had previously in 1851 made a journey due south, and had struck the river Benue very high up its course. Vogel started to complete the discoveries in this direction,

[1] In a patent collapsible boat.

and eventually to make his way to the Nile. He was accompanied by Corporal MacGuire, but the two quarrelled and parted, and both were murdered in the vicinity of Wadai. Dr Barth and the other non-commissioned officer made their way back across the desert to Tripoli and England. Barth's journey was productive of almost more solid information than that of any of the great African explorers, excepting Stanley, and possibly Junker, Schweinfürth and Emin Pasha. Besides the geographical information given, his book in five volumes and his various linguistic works on the Central Sudan languages represent an amount of information that has not been sufficiently digested yet. Henry Barth stands in the first rank of the *very* great explorers, a class which should perhaps include Mungo Park, Livingstone, Stanley, Speke and Grant, Burton, Baker, Schweinfürth, Nachtigal, Rohlfs, Jünker, and Joseph Thomson; men who have not only made great geographical discoveries but who have enriched us as well with that information which clothes the dry bones of the mere delineation of rivers, lakes, and mountains. He received a somewhat grudging reward for his services in England. After some delay he was created a C.B., and then his existence was ignored by the Government, to whom still, and for many years to come, an African explorer, laying bare to our knowledge hundreds of thousands of square miles of valuable territory, was infinitely less worthy of remembrance than a Chargé d'Affaires at the court of the Grand Duke of Pumpernickel.

In 1858 a Morocco Jew named Mordokhai Abi-Serūr[1] made a journey from the south of Morocco to Timbuktu and afterwards resided in that city till 1862, thenceforward repeating his journeys thither until 1869. In 1830 the Church Missionary Society had sent emissaries to Abyssinia, who included among them latterly such men as Krapf and Rebmann. But these agents were expelled in 1842, and settled on the east coast of

[1] His name is spelt by the French "Mardochée."

Africa two years afterwards. Making Mombasa their headquarters, Krapf and Rebmann executed some remarkable journeys into the interior of what was then an utterly unknown country. Rebmann in 1848 saw for the first time Kilima-njaro, the highest mountain in Africa, nearly 20,000 feet high. In 1849 Krapf not only sighted Kilima-njaro, but pushed his way much further north, and caught a glimpse of Mt Kenia. Besides these remarkable discoveries (the truth of which was strongly doubted by arm-chair geographers in England) they brought back with them such circumstantial accounts of the great Central African lakes as to lure others on to the exploration of these regions.

During the '30's Abyssinia and Shoa were explored by Rüppel (a German traveller who added greatly to our knowledge of African natural history); during the '40's and '50's by the Frenchman d'Abbadie (who made the most elaborate surveys), by Sir W. Cornwallis Harris; and later on by Theophile Le Fébvre, Mansfield Parkins, H. Dufton, and the geographer C. T. Beke. In 1856 Mr James Hamilton made a most interesting journey of exploration in the Cyrenaica, and thence travelled overland through the oasis of Siwa to Egypt.

Meantime, in South Africa Livingstone had arisen. He had settled in Bechuanaland in 1841, and had gradually extended his journeys further and further north, until, in company with William Oswell and Murray, two English sportsmen, he discovered Lake Ngami. Mr Francis Galton had attempted to reach this lake in 1851 by an interesting but very difficult journey through Damaraland; but he did not succeed in getting nearer to Ngami than the bed of a dried-up watercourse, the Omaramba. Andersson, a Swede, however, in 1851 left Walfish Bay, and travelling through Ovamboland, managed to arrive at the shores of Ngami. Green explored the lower course of the Okabango-Teoge in 1856. In 1851 Livingstone, accompanied by his wife and family, and by Mr Oswell, reached the Zambezi at Sesheke. Feeling himself

on the threshold of vast discoveries, Livingstone despatched his wife and family to England, with the monetary help of Mr Oswell, and placed himself under the tuition of Sir Thomas McClear, the Astronomer Royal at Cape Town. Turning his face northward in June 1852, he reached the Zambezi again in that year, traced it along its upper course, near to its source, and then travelled across to Angola, which he reached in May 1854. Returning again from Angola to the Zambezi, he followed that river more or less closely to near its mouth, and then made his way to Quelimane by the route always followed until the recent discovery of the Chinde mouth of the Zambezi. From Quelimane he was conveyed by a British gunboat to Mauritius, and arrived in London on the 12th of December, 1856.

Somaliland had been first explored in 1854 by Richard Francis Burton and John Hanning Speke. Burton was an officer in the Indian army, and had previously made a remarkable journey to the holy places of the Hedjaz. In 1856 the Royal Geographical Society (which had developed from out of the African Association in 1830) despatched an expedition under the command of Burton, who chose Speke for his lieutenant, to discover the great lakes which the German missionaries reported to exist. As the result of this epoch-making exploration Burton discovered Tanganyika (though he only mapped out the northern half), and Speke discovered the south shore of the Victoria Nyanza. Hurrying home before Burton, Speke got the ear of the Geographical Society, and was at once sent back (with Captain J. A. Grant as his companion) to discover the sources of the Nile. Burton was rather hardly treated in the matter, but he was a man too clever for his times, and one who made many enemies among the pompous, respectable, retired merchants who in those days directed geographical exploration at home. Speke and Grant reached the southern end of the Victoria Nyanza, journeyed northwards and missed the Albert Nyanza, then,

met and relieved by Sir Samuel Baker, travelled down the Nile to Egypt. It was a most remarkable journey, but in some senses a blundering one, remarkable as much for what was missed as for what was gained in exploration. Through not having made any survey of the vast lake they believed they had found, and not being able to give much idea of its shape or area, its very existence came afterwards to be doubted until it was conclusively established by Stanley. Speke and Grant had left England in April 1860, and reached Khartum on the 30th of March, 1864, and England soon afterwards. Speke died from a gun-accident in September 1864. Grant, afterwards made a Colonel and a C.B., accompanied the British expedition to Abyssinia, and lived till 1892.

Prior to the journey of Speke and Grant down the Nile, that river had been already made known up to the vicinity of the great lakes by explorers following in the footsteps of the military expeditions sent by Muhammad Ali to conquer the Sudan. A Catholic mission had established itself on the Upper Nile in 1848, mainly supported by the Austrian Government. Amongst the missionaries was Dr Ignatius Knoblecher, who in 1849 explored the White Nile as far as Gondokoro and Mount Logwek. Other explorations were carried out by Giovanni Beltrame, another missionary. A Maltese ivory merchant named Andrea Debono and a Venetian named Giovanni Miani had also explored the White Nile, and the latter was the first European to visit the Nyam-nyam country. An English ivory trader named Petherick had started from Khartum in November 1853, and had ascended the Bahr-al-Ghazal River for some distance. He made other journeys into the unknown, more or less in the region of the Bahr-al-Ghazal and the Nyam-nyam country. He was entrusted with the mission of meeting and relieving Speke and Grant, but by some accident he failed to do so. On one of his later journeys he was accompanied by Dr Murie, a naturalist (who is one of the few early Nile

explorers living at the present time), as far as Gondokoro. Heuglin, Kiezelbach, Munzinger, and Steudner were among the methodical German explorers who travelled in the Egyptian Sudan and in Abyssinia in 1861 and 1862. The greatest explorer of these regions, however, next to Speke and Grant, was Mr, afterwards Sir Samuel, Baker, who with his wife conducted an exploration of the Upper Nile on his own account with the intention of meeting and if possible succouring Speke and Grant. Baker had previously explored the Abyssinian tributaries of the Nile. After leaving Speke and Grant to continue their homeward journey, he started off for the south to fill up the blanks in their discoveries. The Nile was reached in the Bunyoro country, and after a long detention at the court of the scoundrelly Nyoro king, and after incredible sufferings, Baker and his wife discovered the Albert Nyanza, which from various causes he took to be much larger than it really is. The entrance and the exit of the Nile from the Albert Nyanza were visited. The Bakers reached Gondokoro, and then returned homewards in March 1865. Their journey down the White Nile was blocked by the obstruction of a vegetable growth (the *sudd*). At last this was cut through, and Egypt was eventually reached. When Baker returned to London he was knighted for the discoveries he had made. The Albert Nyanza was afterwards circumnavigated by Gessi Pasha, a Levantine Italian in the service of the Egyptian Government, and by Colonel Mason Bey, neither of whom, curiously enough, noticed the Semliki flowing into the lake, nor did they catch sight of the snow-covered Ruwenzori.

Livingstone's first great journey resulted in his being sent back with a strong expedition to pursue his discoveries in Zambezia. During these journeys between 1858 and 1864 the river Shire was explored, and Lake Nyasa was discovered and partially mapped. Livingstone was accompanied by Dr (afterwards Sir John) Kirk, who made most valuable natural history

collections, and whose subsequent long career as Political Agent at Zanzibar and many explorations along the East coast of Africa have caused his name to be imperishably connected with that part of the continent.

The French occupation of Algeria and their conquests in Senegambia had naturally produced considerable exploring work, though as much of this was done piece by piece it has not resulted in the handing down of notable names, with some few exceptions. Panet, a Frenchman, in 1850 travelled overland along the Sahara coast from St Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal, to Morocco. Vincent, another Frenchman, in 1860 explored the country from St Louis to the Adrar district of the Sahara, behind what is nowadays the Spanish Protectorate o the Rio de Oro. Paul Soleillet described the Algerian Sahara, and Duveyrier, a really scientific traveller, made important journeys from Algeria southward and south-eastward, adding much to our knowledge of the Northern Sahara. Duveyrier visited the interior of western Tripoli, and brought back considerable information about the Tawareq and their dialects.

In 1866 Livingstone resumed his explorations of East-Central Africa. He travelled overland south-westwards from the Ruvuma River to the south end of Lake Nyasa, then north-west and north to the south end of Tanganyika, thence from Tanganyika to Lake Mweru, to the mighty Luapula River, and to Bangweolo, which lakes and river he discovered in 1868. Again reaching Tanganyika, he joined some Arabs and crossed the Manyema country eastward to Nyangwe, on the Lualaba-Congo. From here he returned to Ujiji, where he was met by Mr H. M. Stanley, who had been sent out by the *New York Herald* to relieve the great explorer. After travelling with Stanley half-way back to Zanzibar, Livingstone returned to Lake Bangweolo, and died there in 1873. Various expeditions had been despatched to his relief. One under Lieutenant Grandy

was sent out in 1873 to ascend the Congo, but the expedition was most unfortunate, and the explorer died near São Salvador[1]. After many changes and withdrawals, a great expedition, organized by the Royal Geographical Society, started from Zanzibar in 1873 to find and relieve Livingstone. It was under the leadership of Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) Verney Lovett Cameron. Cameron soon heard of Livingstone's death, but pushed on to Tanganyika, and mapped that lake for the first time accurately. He then travelled across to the Lualaba, which his altitudes practically determined to be none other than the Upper Congo; but deterred from descending it by the tremendous difficulties that offered themselves, he struck south-westwards across a country not very difficult to traverse—the slightly civilized Mwata Yanvo's empire (impregnated with Portuguese influence), and reached Benguela in November 1875, the first Englishman to cross Africa.

At the beginning of the '60's Dr Gerhard Rohlfs, one of the greatest of African travellers, began to explore Morocco. He had enlisted in the Foreign Legion serving in Algeria, was a doctor of medicine, a renegade, and had a great knowledge of Arabic. He therefore travelled about the southern part of Morocco, and penetrated to the oases of Twat and Ghadames in the Sahara (1864), and in 1865 reached Fezzan and Tibesti. In 1866 he started on a journey to Bornu, and eventually penetrated across the Niger to Lagos, on the Guinea coast, thus being the first European to make a complete journey from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Guinea. In 1873 he explored the oases in the Libyan Desert, and in 1878 he conducted an expedition despatched by the German Government to Wadai, but got no further than the oasis of Kufra. Subsequently two Italians, Dr Pellegrino Matteucci and Lieutenant Alfonso Maria Massari, accompanied as far as Darfur by Prince

[1] Dr Bastian had explored the Lower Congo in 1858, and the region of Loango was examined by a German scientific expedition in 1875–80 (by Bastian, Pechuel Loesche, Falkenstein, and other German explorers).

Giovanni Borghese, travelled across Africa from east to west by way of Suakin, Kordofan, Wadai, Bornu, Kano, and Nupe to the Niger, whence they returned to England, where Matteucci unfortunately died. They were the first Europeans to cross Africa from east to west, but their journey was not productive of much geographical knowledge. From the point of view of knowledge acquired and transmitted one of the most remarkable journeys ever made in Africa was that of Dr Nachtigal, who after having served as physician to the Bey of Tunis was appointed in 1868 by the Prussian Government to take presents to the Sultan of Bornu. Leaving Tripoli in February 1869, Nachtigal halted at first in Fezzan, and from that country made a very interesting journey to Tibesti, a mountainous region in the very middle of the Sahara Desert. He was the first and only European who has really examined this remarkable mountainous region. Returning to Murzuk, he resumed his journey to Bornu, where he arrived in 1870. He thoroughly explored Lake Chad, and much of the Shari River; visited Bagirmi, Wadai (where an earlier German traveller, Moritz von Beurmann, had been murdered in 1863, when searching for Vogel), Songhai, Darfur, Dar Runga, and Kordofan, thence returning home through Egypt. He brought back with him an enormous mass of geographical and linguistic information. In his journey from Tripoli to Fezzan Nachtigal was accompanied by an extraordinary personage, Miss Tinné, perhaps—if she preceded Mrs Ida Pfeiffer, who explored Madagascar in 1860—the first European woman to explore Africa on her own account[1]. Miss Tinné was said to be the richest heiress in the Netherlands. She, her mother, and her aunt had been in the habit of passing their winters in Egypt. In 1861 they ascended the Nile as far as the Sobat River. In 1863 a most important expedition was organised by Miss Tinné,

[1] For it must not be forgotten that Livingstone, Samuel Baker, Petherick and Monteiro were accompanied by their wives on many of their journeys.

consisting of her mother and aunt, three German gentlemen, and herself. They set out to explore the Bahr-al-Ghazal, and finally reached the Nyam-nyam country. They were accompanied even by European ladies' maids, and 200 servants. By July 1864, on returning to Khartum, Miss Tinné had lost, through fever, her mother, her aunt, and one of the German explorers. She then travelled alone for four years in North Africa. Determining to make an expedition to Lake Chad, she attached herself to Nachtigal's expedition as far as Murzuk. Afterwards, travelling on by herself, she was treacherously attacked by the Tawareq of the Sahara, and murdered; for it was supposed that the iron water tanks carried on camels were full of treasure. What became of the unfortunate maidservants she had with her, history does not relate. They probably led for a few years an indescribably wretched existence as the wives of Tawareq raiders. So perished one of the most picturesque of African explorers—Alexandrine Tinné.

On the West coast of Africa the most remarkable journeys made in the '50's and '60's were those of Paul du Chaillu, who travelled in the Gaboon country, and whose natural history collections almost surpass those of any other traveller for their richness and the remarkable forms they revealed. He will always be remembered as the man who practically discovered the gorilla. Winwood Reade, the first African traveller who was at the same time a literary man, visited the west coast of Africa in the '60's, and travelled inland to the source of the Niger. His exploring journeys were of small account, but his descriptions of West Africa are the most vivid, the most truthful, and will perhaps prove to be the most enduring, of any that we possess. Captain Richard Burton of Tanganyika fame, who had been appointed Consul at Fernando Po, ascended the peak of the Cameroons, and visited Dahome and the falls of the Congo between 1860 and 1864. The Marquis de Compiégne and Herr Oskar Lenz explored the Ogowe River, in French West Africa, in 1873; and later on Mr Grenfell, of the

Baptist Mission (afterwards to become still more famous), considerably increased our knowledge of the Cameroons.

Livingstone's death and Cameron's successful crossing of Africa did a great deal to arouse European interest in that continent. Stanley was despatched by the *New York Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph* to complete Livingstone's explorations of the Unknown River. In 1875 he started on that journey which in its discoveries and its results is the greatest to be found in the annals of African exploration. He circumnavigated the Victoria Nyanza, circumnavigated Tanganyika, marched across to the Lualaba, and followed its course resolutely and in the teeth of fearful obstacles until he proved it to be the Congo, and emerged on the Atlantic Ocean.

Cameron's journeys had aroused the Portuguese from their lethargy. Three explorers, Serpa Pinto, Brito Capello, and Roberto Ivens, were despatched to Angola. Leaving São Paulo de Loanda in 1877, Serpa Pinto journeyed in zigzags to the Zambezi, and descended that river to the Barutse country, whence he accompanied M. Coillard, the French missionary, across the Kalahari Desert to the Transvaal. Capello and Ivens explored the northern part of Angola and the River Kwango. Two or three years later they started on a journey remarkable for the importance of the geographical results obtained. They explored much of the Upper Zambezi, tracing that river to its source, travelled along the water-parting between the Zambezi and the Congo, and then turned southwards again to the Zambezi, and so out to the Indian Ocean.

In the Nile regions explorations were steadily continuing. One of the 'great' African travellers, Georg August Schweinfürth, a native of German Russia (Riga), first visited the Nile valley as a botanist. In 1868 he started on a journey of exploration up the White Nile and the Bahr-al-Ghazal, accompanying Nubian ivory merchants. With these he penetrated far to the southwards through the Nyam-nyam country till he reached the Monbuttu, and there he discovered the

Welle River flowing to the west, which ultimately turned out to be one of the principal feeders of the Ubangi, the great northern confluent of the Congo. Schweinfürth returned to Egypt in 1872, and has since devoted himself to the botanical exploration of Egypt, Arabia and Abyssinia. His journey, from the enormous amount of material gathered together, was surpassed in importance by few African explorations. Sir Samuel Baker (1868–'73) and later General Gordon became Governors-General of the Egyptian Sudan, a vast dependency of the half-European state of Egypt, which naturally, whether under European or Egyptian governors, employed large numbers of Europeans. Amongst those who added to our geographical knowledge were Colonel Purdy-Bey, Colonel Colston, the great General Gordon, Marno (a Viennese); Colonel Chaillé Long (an American), who visited Uganda, discovered Lake Ibrahim, and actually proved that the Nile flowed out of the Victoria Nyanza, and then into the Albert Nyanza; and Linant de Bellefonds, a Belgian, who also visited Uganda whilst Stanley was there in 1875, Stanley giving him a famous letter to be posted in Egypt[1]. There were also Colonel Mason Bey and Gessi Pasha, who circumnavigated the Albert Nyanza; poor Lupton Bey, who explored the Bahr-el-Ghazal and Nyam-nyam country and died after long captivity in the Mahdi's hands; and Slatin Pasha, once Governor of Darfur, who has had a happier fate.

The establishment of missions in Nyasaland drew explorers thither. Captain Frederic Elton, who had been appointed Consul at Moçambique, journeyed to Lake Nyasa with several companions, explored the northern extremity of the lake, and

[1] This was the letter which Stanley wrote to England appealing to missionaries to come out and settle at the court of the King of Uganda. It was taken away by Linant de Bellefonds to be posted in Egypt. After leaving Uganda, de Bellefonds was killed by the Bari on the Upper Nile. Stanley's letter was concealed in one of the boots of the corpse when it was recovered. It was handed to General Gordon, and transmitted by him to England.

started to return overland to Zanzibar, but died on the way. His successor as Consul, Lieutenant H. E. O'Neill, crossed backwards and forwards over utterly unknown ground between Moçambique and Nyasa, fixed many positions at the south end of the lake and in the Shire Highlands, and explored many parts of the Portuguese East Africa north of the Zambezi. Bishop Steere, Archdeacon Chauncey Maples, Bishop Smythies, and other missionaries of the Universities' Mission also explored the country between Lake Nyasa and the River Ruvuma and the Moçambique coast. South of the Zambezi, explorations had been carried out by Baldwin, Baines, Anderson, Ericsson, and other sportsmen-travellers. Carl Mauch and Edward Mohr (Germans) had explored Mashonaland, and had discovered the remarkable ruins of Zimbabwe. In 1875 Dr Pögge had made a journey from Angola to the court of the Mwata Yanvo. Two other Germans, named Reichardt and Böhm, had in the later '70's crossed Tanganyika from Zanzibar, and explored the country to the north of Lake Mweru.

A remarkable journey was made in 1878–9 by Dr R. W. Felkin, who with one or more missionary companions of the Church Missionary Society journeyed overland from Suakin up the Nile to Uganda. They came back again (with the Rev. C. T. Wilson) in 1881 from Uganda *viâ* the White Nile, Bahr-al-Ghazal and Darfur to Egypt.

The return of Cameron and the subsequent success of Stanley had caused the King of the Belgians to become intensely interested in the exploration of Africa, at first, no doubt, from a disinterested love of knowledge, but soon afterwards with the definite idea of creating in the unoccupied parts of that continent a huge native confederation or state which should become dependent on Belgium. The king summoned to Brussels distinguished 'Africans' from most European countries with the desire of forming an International Committee which should bring about the complete exploration of Africa. But this international enterprise soon split up into national

sections, and what the King of the Belgians had intended should be entirely disinterested geographical work ultimately developed into the "Scramble for Africa." Still, it did lead considerably to the increase of geographical knowledge. The Royal Geographical Society sent out a well-equipped expedition to Zanzibar to explore the country between Tanganyika and Nyasa. It was under the orders of Keith Johnston, who died soon after starting, leaving his task to be fulfilled by Joseph Thomson. Mr Thomson was completely successful, and covered much new ground between Nyasa and Tanganyika to the west of Tanganyika, and to the south, where he discovered the north end of Lake Rukwa[1]. On the West coast the French Section despatched De Brazza to explore what is now French Congo. His geographical discoveries led to annexation. Antonelli and other Italians directed their efforts to the exploration of Shoa, to the south of Abyssinia. But the main outcome of this action on the part of the King of the Belgians was the founding of the Congo Free State. Mr Stanley was sent back to the Congo at the expense of a small committee—eventually at the sole charge of the King of the Belgians. Whilst he was by degrees reascending the Congo and making many geographical discoveries, such as the Lakes Leopold and Mantumba, a Baptist missionary already referred to, Mr George Grenfell, made known the Ubangi River, a northern affluent of the Congo, which Vangèle and other Belgian explorers afterwards determined to be the Welle. Lieutenant Hermann Wissmann (afterwards Major von Wissmann) mapped out the course of the Kasai, and other southern affluents of the Congo, and crossed and recrossed Africa, coming out at Zanzibar and at the Zambezi.

In 1879 Dr Oskar Lenz, who had previously explored the Ogowe, journeyed from Morocco to Timbuktu, and from Timbuktu to Senegambia. Subsequently Dr Lenz ascended

[1] The author and Dr Cross discovered the south end of this lake in 1889.

the Congo, and crossed over to Tanganyika, returning to Europe by the Zambezi on a more or less futile attempt to discover the whereabouts of Emin Pasha. In the earlier '80's another Austrian explorer, Dr Holub, travelled in South Africa and made an unsuccessful journey into Central Zambezia. The celebrated hunter of big game, Mr F. C. Selous, not only added much to our knowledge of South Central Africa (the Rhodesia of to-day), but penetrated north of the Zambezi into the valley of the Kafue river, his explorations in that direction having only been "caught up with" quite recently. Mr F. S. Arnot, a missionary, made a remarkable journey from South to Central Africa, exploring the southern part of the Congo basin (Katanga) and reaching the west coast at Benguela. In 1884 Lieutenant Giraud, a Frenchman, made an interesting journey to Lake Bangweolo, which he was the first European to map with any degree of accuracy. In 1882 the Earl of Mayo, accompanied by the present writer, explored the River Kunene, in South-West Africa. Subsequently the author of this book travelled through Angola and up the River Congo, and on his return journey to England visited that little known part of Africa, Portuguese Guinea. He was subsequently sent on an expedition to Mt Kilima-njaro, in East Africa. Amongst other geographical work he visited little known parts of Tunis in 1880 and 1897; discovered (with Dr Cross) the southern end of Lake Rukwa, in East-Central Africa, in 1889; in 1886–88 explored the Cameroons and the Niger Delta; and made numerous journeys in British Central Africa (1889–95).

In 1883, Joseph Thomson, already famous as an African explorer, was sent on a most important mission by the Royal Geographical Society. He was to cross the nearly unknown country separating the Mombasa littoral from the east coast of the Victoria Nyanza, between the two great snow mountains of Kenia and Kilima-njaro (Kilima-njaro since Krapf's and Rebmann's reports had been thoroughly mapped by Baron von der Decken: it had also been ascended nearly to the snow level

by Mr Charles New). Mr Thomson's visit to Kilima-njaro nearly coincided with that of the present writer, and was of short duration. He practically rediscovered Kenia (Krapf's account being so vague that it had become regarded as semi-mythical) and photographed this second greatest snow mountain of Africa. After some difficulties he succeeded in penetrating the Masai country, and discovered the great Rift valley of Lake Naivasha, together with Lake Baringo, and succeeded in reaching the north-east coast of Victoria Nyanza—a most remarkable journey, resulting in great additions to our geographical knowledge. Mr Thomson subsequently made a journey from the mouth of the Niger to Sokoto, explored the Atlas Mountains of Morocco, mapped much fresh country in Central Zambezia, and died, still a young man and much regretted, in 1895. The Hungarian, Count Samuel Teleki, who followed in Thomson's footsteps, discovered Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie. Lieutenant Hühnel, who went with him, accompanied other expeditions in the same direction and accomplished admirable surveying work.

Then came the last epoch-making journey of Stanley—the search for Emin Pasha. After the British occupation of Egypt and the loss of the Sudan, Emin Pasha had retreated to the Equatorial Province. Through Dr William Junker (a Russian traveller, who had made journeys of the first rank in the western watershed of the Nile, and had brought back an immense mass of valuable information) he managed to communicate with Europe by way of Uganda, making known his condition, and appealing for help. Stanley was placed at the head of a great English expedition which was to go to his relief. He travelled by way of the Congo, and at the junction of the Congo and the Aruwini entered the unknown. He crossed that always difficult barrier, the Bantu borderland—in this case an almost impenetrable forest. After overcoming innumerable obstacles, Stanley met Emin Pasha on the Albert Nyanza, and eventually escorted him to the coast at Zanzibar. In the

course of this journey Stanley discovered Ruwenzori, the third highest mountain in Africa, the Albert Edward Nyanza (one of the ultimate lake sources of the Nile), and the Semliki River, which connects the Albert Edward with the Albert Nyanza.

In West Africa, which had for some time been neglected as a field for exploration, there still remained gaps to be filled up—in the great bend of the Niger, and behind the Cameroons. In the last-named country German travellers, Dr Zintgraft, Morgen, Kund and Tappenbeck, Von Stettin, Uechtritz and Passarge, explored the mountainous country between the Cameroons and the Benue watershed, or traced the course of the great and hitherto quite unknown rivers of Lom and Mbam, which unite and form the Sanaga, a river which enters the sea on the south side of the Cameroons estuary. Dr Baumann[1] also explored the neglected island of Fernando Po. In the bend of the Niger various French explorers and one or two Germans and Englishmen filled up the blanks. Notable among these was Captain Binger, who was the first to make known much of the country between the Upper Niger and the Guinea coast, and Colonel Monteil, who travelled across from the Upper Niger to the Central Niger, and thence to Lake Chad and Tripoli (1894). The gap between the basin of the Congo and Lake Chad was partly filled up by the explorations of Crampel, Dybowski, Maistre, Gentil, and other French travellers.

To come down to quite recent times, Mr Alfred Sharpe (now H.M. Commissioner in British Central Africa) gradually mapped Lake Mweru, discovered the large salt marsh between that lake and Tanganyika, explored the Luapula and the Luangwa, and made other interesting discoveries in South-Central Africa, discoveries since supplemented by the survey

[1] Baumann made a careful examination of the mountainous country of Usambara in East Africa, and mapped the lands due west of the Victoria Nyanza.

of Lake Bangweolo by Mr Poulett Weatherley. M. Lionel Décle, the well-known French traveller, made a journey from Cape Town overland to the White Nile, by way of Lakes Nyasa, Tanganyika, and Victoria Nyanza. Count Goetzen explored the unknown country between Lake Albert Edward Nyanza and Tanganyika, discovering the lofty volcano of Virunga and Lake Kivu; and Mr Scott Elliott journeyed from the east coast to Mt Ruwenzori, and thence to British Central Africa for botanical purposes.

The great eastern horn of Africa, Somaliland and Gallaland, was long left unexplored after Burton and Speke's journey to Harrar in the '50's. At the beginning of the '80's its exploration was again attacked. Messrs F. L. and W. D. James, with three companions, penetrated Somaliland as far south as the Webbe Shebeili River. They were followed in exploration by Ruspoli, Bricchetti-Robecchi, Bottego (Italians) and Révoil and Borelli (Frenchmen). The last-named made a most important journey south from Abyssinia, and discovered the Omo River. His account of his travels, published by the French Government, is an almost perfect exemplar of what such a work should be. Mr W. Astor Chanler, an American, afterwards made a very important exploration of Gallaland, north of the Tana River. Dr J. W. Gregory, of the British Museum, travelled to Lake Baringo and Kenia, which mountain he ascended higher than any preceding explorer. Dr Gregory's journey was productive of much information regarding the geology of the countries traversed. Dr Donaldson Smith (an American) travelled over these countries between Somaliland and Bantu, East Africa, bringing back much new information. Captain Swayne has explored the interior of Somaliland; Lieutenant Vandeleur has surveyed Uganda and Unyoro (where also Major Macdonald, the late Captain B. L. Sclater and Captain Pringle, R.E., have done excellent surveying work); and Mr H. Cavendish has just performed a remarkable journey right across the eastern horn of Africa.

In this review of explorers many names have been omitted, and only the leading journeys have been touched on. A great deal of the existing map of Africa has been quietly and unostentatiously compiled by patient officials, whose work has often been anonymous, and who have done much to correct and complete the lightning-flash streaks across the darkness of unexplored Africa drawn by the great pioneers.

Civilized Africa will some day recognize the great debt which is owed to the explorers of the 19th century, the record of whose sufferings, and not unfrequent martyrdoms, is grander in its enthusiastic heroism than even the annals of Christian missionaries, with whose work it is closely associated.

CHAPTER XI.

BELGIAN AFRICA.

It has been already related in the preceding chapter how the geographical ardour of the King of the Belgians resulted in the sending of Stanley with an important expedition to explore the Congo. In 1879 from out of the African International Association there grew the Comité d'Études du Haut Congo, which projected the idea of Stanley's concluding in its name treaties with the paramount chiefs of the Congo region, treaties by means of which these chiefs should agree to join in a sort of confederation for purposes of mutual support, while at the same time they admitted into their territories the traders who would be sent out by this committee, which was in some sort to become the suzerain of this Congo Federation. Mr Stanley appears to have been under the impression that the final protectorate over the central Congo would be a British one; until 1884 few people seemed to think that the King of the Belgians would make himself the sovereign of the Congo. In the early years of the '80's a kind of Anglo-French duel had taken place on the Congo, De Brazza representing the French interest and Stanley the English. When it began to dawn on the British Government that the King of the Belgians was working for purely Belgian interests it occurred to them that there was no reason why England and Portugal might not come to terms, at any rate about the Lower Congo. So the

abortive treaty of 1884 was drawn up, but not ratified. Believing that this was a preliminary to a British Protectorate of the Congo, France and Germany joined hands, and a Conference on African affairs was convened at Berlin, the first of a long series of actions taken jointly by the other states of Europe to check the extension of British influence.

At the Berlin Conference of 1884–5 the Congo Free State was recognized by all the leading powers of Europe as a sovereign state with the King of the Belgians at its head. Before giving her consent, however, France is said to have reserved to herself the right of preemption over these Congo territories, besides securing by an agreement with the King of the Belgians a large portion of western Congoland. Mr Stanley then ceased to administer the Congo Free State, and was succeeded first by Sir Frederick Goldsmid, and then by Sir Francis De Winton, who governed for the King of the Belgians, but gave a distinctly English tone to the administration. Gradually however the international character of the state was dropped, and the British, French, Portuguese, Swedish and German officials were replaced by Belgians, so that by about 1890 the entire administration was Belgian. Mr Stanley, however, once more intervened (in 1887) in the affairs of the Free State, which had got into great difficulties owing to the attacks of the Zanzibar Arabs on the Upper Congo. Mr Stanley temporized, seeking to gain time for the young state, and recognized Tipu Tipu[1], the leading Arab, as Governor for the King of the Belgians over the Upper Congo. Tipu Tipu withdrew about 1890, when the Arab revolt against the Germans had caused grave tension between the Arabs and Europeans in Central Africa. After his withdrawal, the Arabs, who had now become extremely powerful in the Upper Congo, attacked the Belgians, and massacred several outposts. The forces of the State—largely composed of Congo natives with a few Hausas from the

[1] Hamed bin Muhammad bin Juma, nicknamed Tipu Tipu or "Tippootib."

interior—were ably led by Belgian officers, remarkable among whom was Lieutenant Dhanis, who in the year 1892 commenced against them a noteworthy campaign, which ended in the capture of Nyangwe and the eventual conquest of the whole of the country up to the west shores of Tanganyika, and the death or expulsion from Congoland of all the Arab leaders. This brings down the history of the Congo Free State to 1894.

During this time most of the indigenous products, like ivory and rubber, having been constituted State monopolies, commerce was chiefly restricted to the State, and to various Belgian firms, though the commerce of the Lower Congo still remained open to the merchants of all nations. This policy on the part of the Congo Free State, which on the strength of its philanthropic assurances had obtained permission in 1891 to levy import duties, was much criticized, and led to some alienation of sympathy in England. Added to this were the extraordinary stories of atrocities spread by British, German, and Swedish missionaries. It was said that to enforce the payment of tribute in rubber the Belgian officers ordered their negro subordinates to cut off the hands of all who refused payment. It was stated that the natives were plunged into a slavery worse than anything the Arabs had introduced, that they were shot down for trifling causes, and that the police and soldiers of the Free State were allowed without hindrance to devour the bodies of the slain in battle. These charges in some cases were scarcely credible as applied to the actions of civilized human beings; but the King of the Belgians at once instituted a committee to inquire into them, and in some slight degree they were supported by evidence. The charge of permitting cannibalism was substantiated by the accounts of Captain S. L. Hinde, who had served in the Congo Free State forces as a military surgeon. The fact is that a territory nearly as large as Brazil was handed over to a number of young Belgian officers to govern. The men whom they employed in their administration and warfare were savages barely

reclaimed from the most barbarous practices: and just as, in a far less degree, the Matabele police of the British South Africa Company were guilty of malpractices that the Company would never knowingly have allowed to be perpetrated, so the soldiers of the Congo Free State committed the most appalling outrages before the State could become cognizant of their actions and prevent them. About two years after the defeat of the Arabs, Lieutenant Dhanis, who had been made a Baron, had to face and overcome a terrible mutiny among the Congo Free State troops, mostly Manyema and Batetela, recruited from the eastern portion of the territory. This revolt is not even yet wholly subdued. In 1892, the King of the Belgians, alarmed by the progress of the British South Africa Company, sent out an expedition under Captain Stairs (an English officer—a Nova Scotian) to occupy in his name the territory of Katanga, which was a debateable land, to some extent under British missionary influence, but claimed as lying within the boundaries of the Congo Free State. Its king was an Mnyamwezi adventurer and slave trader; nevertheless he had ruled his country with a certain degree of wisdom, and had permitted British missionaries to settle there, and British travellers to explore; therefore it was learned with some regret that he had been summarily shot for refusing to hand over his territory to the Belgians. Not content with the gigantic territory already under his control, the King of the Belgians aspired to extend it to the banks of the White Nile. In 1894 a somewhat unfortunate agreement was concluded with the British Government by which, in exchange for a strip of territory which would enable the latter to connect the north end of Tanganyika with Uganda, the King of the Belgians took over on lease the administration of territories as far north as the Bahr-al-Ghazal and the White Nile. But this settlement was practically annulled by the subsequent Belgian convention with France, which restricted the northern boundary of the Congo Free State to the Mbomu affluent of the Welle River, while the King of the Belgians

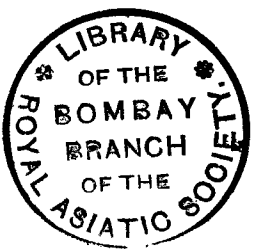
retained the lease of a small patch of territory on the West bank of the White Nile, opposite Lado.

Another event in the recent history of the Congo Free State, which has caused some anger in England, was the summary execution of the unfortunate Mr Stokes by a Belgian officer named Lothaire. Mr Stokes (who was an Ulster Irishman) had once been a missionary, and used to travel backwards and forwards to Uganda. He then set up for himself as a trader, and although a British subject he was sufficiently international in his sympathies to work for the Germans in helping to found their East African colony. In the course of his ivory-trading expeditions he entered the Congo Free State. It was suspected by Lothaire that he was furnishing the Arabs with powder; he therefore sent a messenger to Stokes, summoning him to his camp. Stokes came unsuspecting. He was put through a cross-examination over night, and in the early morning taken out of his hut and hanged. In plain language, he was murdered. For not only did he receive no trial, but at that time, and even at the present day, British consular jurisdiction was maintained in the Congo Free State, and at no time was sufficient evidence brought forward to show that Stokes had sold any powder to the Arabs, or done anything worthy of death. Major Lothaire was tried for the murder of Stokes both at Boma and again at Brussels, but was pronounced not guilty at each trial, and was regarded by a portion of the Belgian press as having been a national hero. He was, however, dismissed from the service of the Congo Free State, and an indemnity of £6000 was paid to the child of Stokes.

In the present year a railway (about 335 miles long), connecting the Lower Congo at Matadi with the Central Congo at Stanley Pool, has been opened for traffic, and will probably have an extraordinary effect on the development of the Congo Free State. Ocean-going steamers can ascend the river as far as Boma, the capital of the State, and craft of considerable size

can proceed to Matadi. After Stanley Pool has been reached by railway there are between two and three thousand miles of unobstructed river navigation right into the heart of Africa, and even to the vicinity of the Egyptian Sudan.

There is a great future before the Congo Free State, and there is no reason whatever why gallant and artistic Flanders should not play a great part in Central Africa; she is already sufficiently illustrious in the history of Europe.


LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

BRITISH AFRICA


EUROPE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
ENGLAND
GERMANY
FRANCE
Paris
BELGIUM
SPAIN
Lisbon
ITALY
TURKEY
Constantinople
GREECE
Strait of Gibraltar
Gibraltar
Madeira
Canary Is.
Cape Verde Is.
Azores Is.
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
Tripoli
Barka
BARBARY STATES
Fez
Tuat
Ghat
Mourzuk
Fezzan
SYRIA
Jerusalem
Cairo
Suez
EGYPT
Thebes
Assuan
Libyan Desert
NILE
ARABIA
Mecca
Tropic of Cancer
SAHARA OR GREAT DESERT
NUBIA
Timbuctoo
Agades
Tibesti
Dongola
Berber
Khartoum
Sennaar
Abyssinia
Massowah
Adowa
Aden
Socotra I.
Zanzibar
Obock
Bab-el-Mandeb
Gulf of Aden
BRITISH SOMALILAND
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
SUDAN
Lake Chad
Wadai
Darfur
EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Kordofan
Gondar
Abyssinia
Abbai or Blue R.
Abbai Shotta
Magdala
Adowa
Adigrat
Senafe
Keren
Massowah
Sokoto
Kano
Bornu
Bussa
ROYAL NIGER COMPANY
Boussa
Nyffe
Bahr el Ghazal
Lado
Wadelai
Albert Nyanza
Victoria Nyanza
Kavirondo
Mombasa
Melinda
Zanzibar
Pemba I.
Seychelle I.
Amirante Is.
Aldabra I.
Farquhar I.
Cosmoledo I.
Assumption I.
Providence I.
Mahé I.
Praslin I.
Coetivy I.
Chagos Archipelago
Diego Garcia
Tromelin I.
Rodriguez
Reunion
Mauritius
MADAGASCAR
Tamatave
Antongil B.
Majunga
Nossi Be
Mozambique Channel
Delagoa B.
Lourenco Marques
Inhambane
Sofala
Beira
Zambesi R.
Shire R.
Nyassa L.
Tanganyika L.
Victoria L.
Albert L.
Albert Edward L.
Kilimanjaro
Mt. Kenia
Mt. Elgon
Mt. Ruwenzori
Mt. Gordon Bennett
Mt. Mfumbiro
Mt. Kirunga
Mt. Sattima
Mt. Kenia
Mt. Kilimanjaro

CHAPTER XII.

THE BRITISH IN AFRICA. III.

(*Egypt and Eastern Africa.*)

EVER since the beginning of this century, when England expelled the French from Egypt, she herself has had longings for the control of that country. One reason for this desire was very clear: across Egypt lay the shortest route to India. Even without the Suez Canal, a day's journey on a railway or three days' journey by canal and carriage would transfer one from Alexandria on the Mediterranean to Suez on the Red Sea. Two hundred and twenty years ago, in the reign of Louis XIV, and one hundred years ago, in the dawning empire of Napoleon Bonaparte, when steam was unknown as a motive power, the idea was conceived and born that Egypt controlled the back door, the garden gate of India. But when steam came into vogue on the sea, and later on the land, and people contrasted the saving of time over the Egyptian route with the weary three months' voyage round the Cape, it became apparent, even to British statesmen, that British influence must have full play if not exclusive control in Egypt.

Subsequent on the withdrawal of the French, a simple Major of artillery from European Turkey—Muhammad Ali—had suddenly risen to power by procedure which was faithfully copied 80 years afterwards by Arābi. He had attained such control over the military forces of Egypt that in 1806–7 he

defeated a British force which attempted to land and take possession of the country. He probably thus staved off for 76 years the British occupation of Egypt, an occupation which in 1806 would have been far more rapidly converted into annexation than it could possibly be at the present day.

England respected Muhammad Ali's sturdy resistance, and although she opposed his attempt to conquer the Turkish Empire, and—in opposition to the foolish encouragement he received from France—seemed at one time his enemy, she nevertheless saved him from downfall, and assisted him to establish a dynasty in Egypt which has ruled, directly or indirectly for nearly a century. Still, knowing English hankerings, the Tsar Nicholas I offered Egypt and Crete to England a short time prior to the Crimean War in return for a free hand at Constantinople. Unfortunately we declined, and have been the poorer since by many millions of money and many brave men. Then came the making of the canal by Lesseps, the influence of which, however, was somewhat counteracted by the fact that all the Egyptian railways were British. Nevertheless, British influence never stood so low in Egypt as at the opening of the Suez Canal, where the Heir to the British Crown was lost amid a galaxy of Emperors and Empresses. But although French influence had grown so strong in Egypt, the French Government did not—overtly at any rate—strive for more than an equal voice with England in the affairs of Egypt, partly owing to a feeling of loyalty to the British alliance, which Napoleon III displayed whenever he could, and later, to the enfeeblement of France after the German War. But Egypt had been ruined and reduced to bankruptcy by a senseless squandering of money. There followed therefrom the Dual Control in 1876. In 1881 occurred the revolt of the army headed by Colonel Ahmed Arābi. France under the influence of Gambetta pursued the same policy as England, namely, the delivering of verbal assurances at intervals without the display of force. At last, in June 1882,

there was a riot and a massacre of Christians at Alexandria. When the British fleet prepared to take action the French withdrew, a hostile vote of the Chamber having dissolved the Dual Control. England then intervened in Egypt, and re-conquered the country for the Khedive. When this had been done the British Government was in a dilemma. Had it, say some, on the capture of Cairo declared Egypt to be a British protectorate outright it would have only done what all the powers of Europe expected. On the other hand, this bold step would have meant the tearing up of treaties and the partitioning of the Turkish Empire. Perhaps this might have been got over by direct negotiation with the Sultan and assurances of the continuance or composition of the tribute.

The British Government was probably sincere at the time in its assurances of speedy evacuation, but it seemed as though fate had ordained that England should remain the controller of Egypt. In the year following the battle of Tel-el-Kebir the Mahdi's revolt broke out in the Sudan[1]. Hicks Pasha's force was cut to pieces in the wilds of Kordofan. Gordon was sent to relieve and remove the garrisons, instead of doing which he remained at Khartum in the vain hope of restoring before he left it some kind of order to the country that he loved. An army was sent to rescue him. It arrived a few days too late, yet might even then have retaken Khartum and put down the revolt; but Russia was threatening us on the borders of India, and we could not afford to lock up so many soldiers in Central Africa. Not being able, therefore, to settle the Sudan question, we were forced to remain in Egypt to prevent that country from being overrun by the Mahdists. An attempt was made in 1885–6 to negotiate

[1] This was a revolt against Egyptian rule and taxation and interference with the slave trade, started by an Arab fanatic named Muhammad Ahmad, who called himself the Mahdi or Messiah. He died in 1885 and was succeeded by his Lieutenant, the Khalifah Abdallah. His fanatical followers are usually called the 'Dervishes.'

terms of withdrawal with the Sultan, but the proposed convention was not ratified, owing to the opposition of France and Russia. Gradually, owing to the ability and truly British calm of Lord Cromer, the situation grew into a possible one. A moderate British garrison was retained. The Exchequer was placed under British control, as were public works, the administration of justice, the organization of the army, posts and telegraphs and other departments where an infusion of order, honesty, and economy was necessary. The Khedive of Egypt continued to reign with British support and under British advice. In 1890 the conclusion of the Anglo-German agreement for delimiting the British and German spheres of influence in East, West, and Central Africa had secured from one European power, at least, recognition of an eventual British control over the former Equatorial provinces of Egypt. From this event and from the contemplation of maps arose the idea of 'the Cape to Cairo[1],' and British ministries began slowly to contemplate the reconquest of the Sudan. The Mahdists aided the growth of this resolve by their fatuous hostility and constant attacks on Suakin and on the Wady Halfa boundary to the south of Egypt proper, behind which the Egyptian forces withdrew in 1885. In 1894–95 the vicinity of Suakin was freed from these marauders and the eastern Sudan reconquered, Italy greatly aiding by her gallant capture of Kasala[2]. The terrible disaster which befell the Italian arms in Abyssinia in 1896 caused the British Government to press forward the conquest of the Sudan in order to distract the Dervishes from attacking

[1] This phrase first made its appearance in a lecture given by the author of this book at Liverpool. In its fullest form it ran thus: "From the Cape to Cairo and Cairo to Old Calabar," i.e. a stretch of British-controlled territory from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean, and from the Gulf of Guinea to the Red Sea. See also the author's article in the *Times* of August 22, 1888.

[2] Taken by the Italians from the Dervishes in 1894 and restored to Anglo-Egyptian control in 1897.

the Italians. The Egyptian commander-in-chief—Sir Herbert Kitchener, now Lord Kitchener of Khartum—had thoroughly reorganised the native Egyptian army under British officers, and with this material alone he reconquered the province of Dongola during the summer of 1896. In 1897 and the early part of 1898 the advance up the Nile valley was continued, and on the 2nd of September, 1898, occurred the decisive battle of Omdurman, in which a mixed army of British and Egyptian regiments, under Sir Herbert Kitchener, finally shattered the Khalifah's power and avenged Gordon's death. Anglo-Egyptian control was rapidly extended eastward to the Abyssinian frontier and southward to the Sobat river, but a half-expected obstacle came to light which imposed a temporary check to the Cape to Cairo policy: Major Marchand had reached Fashoda, near the confluence of the White Nile and the Bahr-al-Ghazal, and had hoisted the French flag over that abandoned Egyptian post. Before the determined attitude of Great Britain France, after two months' delay, withdrew Major Marchand, but the main question, as to the recognition of Great Britain's exclusive control over the Khedive's dominions, still remained to be decided.

Except for this recognition of our privileged position we have probably now attained all the control in Egypt which is strictly necessary to the interest we feel in that country as the halfway-house to India, provided, of course, that the titular ruler of Egypt sees eye to eye with us, and maintains a loyal understanding that he is to rule under our advice and protection.

Aden, at the south-west extremity of Arabia, had been taken by the Indian Government in 1839 in view of the opening up to steam ships of the Egyptian route to India. To Aden was added the island of Perim in 1858, and the island of Sokotra in 1876[1]. Egypt had annexed the coast of Somali-

[1] Formally placed under British protection in 1884.

land opposite Aden, with the exception of the French post of Obok. When the Egyptian dominion of the Sudan collapsed it was necessary to our interests that the Somali coast opposite Aden should not come under the influence of another European power, so a British protectorate was established there (1884–89) by accord with France and Italy, France extending her Obok territory to meet the British Somali Protectorate, while the town of Harar in the interior, which was likely to be a bone of contention, was wisely transferred to Abyssinia together with a small adjoining piece of territory in 1897.

After the Portuguese had been expelled by the Arabs from Zanzibar and Mombasa, all the East coast of Africa from Somaliland to the Ruvuma river had come under the control of the Imam of Maskat, who usually deputed a brother or some other relation to be his viceroy at Zanzibar. Owing to internecine quarrels which arose in the royal family of Maskat, the British Government intervened in 1861, and definitely separated the Sultanate of Zanzibar from the Imamate of 'Oman or Maskat. As the French were beginning to take a keen interest in the affairs of Zanzibar and Maskat, the British Government at that time concluded a treaty with the French Emperor by which both powers bound themselves to respect the independence of Zanzibar and Maskat. Many years previously, in 1825, Captain Owen had hoisted the British flag at Mombasa, and had endeavoured to take that town for the East India Company, but his action was disallowed. Nevertheless, British influence at Zanzibar grew very strong through the Political Agent whom we established at the Sultan's court, and a powerful squadron of cruisers which were maintained in Zanzibar waters to put down the slave trade. In 1866 Dr, afterwards Sir John, Kirk, who had been Livingstone's second in command on the Zambezi, was appointed Vice-Consul and gradually rose to be Consul and then Political Agent and Consul-General. He threw himself zealously into the task of suppressing the Zanzibar slave trade, which had become an

outrage on humanity. The British Government supported him, and in 1873 Sir Bartle Frere was sent to Zanzibar to negotiate a treaty with the Sultan.

The Sultan was recalcitrant, and even went to the length of offering his territory to France. Finally, however, before a threatened British bombardment could take place or the French squadron arrive, Sir John Kirk had persuaded the Sultan to sign the treaty, after which Said Barghash bin Said resolved to visit England, which he did in 1874. It is said that even at that date he had some idea of invoking German protection, provided he were allowed to tear up the slave-trade treaty. However, the wisdom and tact of Sir John Kirk did wonders for British influence at Zanzibar, and in 1876 the Sultan offered the cession of nearly all his continental territories to Mr, afterwards Sir William, Mackinnon, the chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Company. But Mr Mackinnon was an over-cautious man. Instead of accepting, and then forcing the hand of the British Government, he refused to take the Sultan's concession unless he could first obtain a British guarantee, an action to which the Government was naturally unwilling to commit itself. In 1881 Sir John Kirk thought of another plan, that of inducing the Sultan to employ capable Britons, who would develop his territories as governors or commissioners. He secured the services of Mr Joseph Thomson to develop the resources of the Ruvuma Province, an appointment which might have effectually prevented any future German intervention; but Mr Joseph Thomson was too literal and shortsighted—perhaps too tiresomely honest. The country seemed to him poor in resources (though it is now shown to be more productive than he thought) and he told the Sultan so bluntly, and therefore was relieved of his appointment. In 1883 Sir John Kirk returned from England, having induced the Government to appoint a number of salaried vice-consuls at various points in the Sultan's territories. (It must be remembered that at this period a very large proportion of the

Zanzibar trade was in the hands of British subjects, who were principally natives of India.) Sir John Kirk had also about the same time entered into friendly relations with the principal chief on Mt Kilima-njaro, and had urged the sending out of a scientific expedition, to the leadership of which the present writer was appointed in 1884, in order to explore that mountain. After some months' stay on Kilima-njaro I reported to the Foreign Office the great advantages this country possessed as a sanatorium, and whilst waiting for instructions from Sir John Kirk, concluded treaties with several chiefs. The Foreign Office reply (as may be seen from the information given in the Blue Books of that period) was speedy and favourable. But various obstacles arose which required consideration, amongst others the remembrance of our agreement with France. Another European power, however, was bound by no such agreement, and had no such scruples, as will be related in Chapter XIV. Although my treaties proved the basis on which the British East Africa Company was eventually founded, the actual Mountain of Kilima-njaro finally fell to Germany. By 1885, however, the British Government had more or less indicated to Germany that portion of the Zanzibar dominions which must come under British influence if there was to be a division of those territories; and after several years of diplomatic conflict, the whole question was settled with rare ability by the 1890 Convention between England and Germany, and by a secondary agreement with France, which definitely allotted to Great Britain the northern half of the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions, and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

The British East Africa Company, which had been organized in 1886, was chartered in 1888, and undertook the government of the vast territories lying between the Mombasa coast and the Victoria Nyanza. The country of Uganda, on the north-west of this greatest of African lakes, had been allotted to the British sphere by the German Convention; but unfortunately the country had been invaded by French Roman

Catholic missionaries of Cardinal Lavigerie's mission (cf. p. 151), who were such ardent Frenchmen that they rather forgot the religious purpose for which they were there, and fomented serious quarrels between the king and the Protestant missionaries who had preceded them. The great King Mtesa died in 1884, peevish and disgusted with the missionary squabbles and religious recriminations that buzzed in his ears, longing for the dear old easy pagan life he had led before he had pressed Stanley (p. 217) to send him Christian teachers. After his death, the Arab party prejudiced his son Mwanga against the foreigners. Bishop Hannington, of the Church Missionary Society, newly appointed to East Equatorial Africa, persisted in entering Uganda along Mr Thomson's route by what the king called the "back way." Frightened lest the bishop might be coming to take the country by the methods which the Germans had employed further south, the king ordered him to be murdered. Soon after this, the missionaries, Protestants and Catholics, were expelled from Uganda. Then later on there was a Muhammadan revolt, which drove Mwanga flying. He took refuge with the Catholic missionaries at the south end of the lake, and became a Christian. He was restored to his throne by the aid of Mr Stokes, who was afterwards hanged by Major Lothaire (p. 229). Then the French missionaries got control over the king, and attempted to prevent the country from becoming a British protectorate—if it could not be French, at any rate let it be German; and Dr Peters arriving on the scene strove to make it German; but his efforts were annulled by the 1890 Convention. After this, to prevent the country from falling under the sway of the Muhammadans, who might have joined the Mahdists or become French, the East Africa Company was obliged by public opinion to intervene, although it did not possess sufficient funds to administer such an expensive empire. Captain, now Colonel, Lugard was sent there as their agent, and in an exceedingly able and courageous

manner restored order, obtaining from the king a treaty with the Company, and putting down revolts of the Roman Catholic Christians and of the Muhammadans. But the East Africa Company was obliged to appeal to the British Government to come to its assistance lest Uganda should swallow up all its resources. The late Sir Gerald Portal, Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, was sent to Uganda to report on the advisability and the means of retaining this country under British influence. Unhappily, he died soon after his return to England, but his report led to the establishment of a British protectorate. Through the intervention of the Pope, the French missionaries were replaced by Irish priests, who have since carried on the conversion and teaching of the natives in an admirable manner, without interfering with the government of the country. On the other hand, the French missionaries were compensated for their retirement by a payment of £10,000.

After the withdrawal of Emin Pasha from his Equatorial province a number of his former Sudanese soldiers volunteered for employment in Uganda, and were eagerly recruited as a capable fighting force. But they were Muhammadans, and always inclined to intrigue against a Christian power. Added to this, Mwanga was the most unstable of men, and an exceedingly bad character to boot. Vices, hateful even to negro minds, made him so unpopular, that without British support he would probably have been deposed or killed. As it was, the presence of the British prevented this, but did not prevent his intriguing with that section of the populace which disliked European intervention. After an undecided behaviour which lasted several years he finally attempted to massacre the British, but was defeated, and fled across the German border. Then the Sudanese troops revolted, seized a fortress and some guns, and for nearly a year set the British and the loyal Baganda at defiance. Finally, a detachment of 450 Sikhs reached the country (a handful of these splendid soldiers had

already enabled the European officers to face the Muhammadan mutineers), and from latest advices order has been restored.

Prior to these troubles, continual warfare was carried on for some years with the Bunyoro kingdom to the north, which was finally conquered and annexed to the Protectorate. Major 'Roddy' Owen had even hoisted the British flag at Wadelai, on the White Nile, but this action was not confirmed by the British Government. Nevertheless, with the conquest of Khartum effected and the Fashoda question settled, it may not be long before the British Protectorate extends north from Uganda until it merges with the Egyptian Viceroyalty of the Sudan. To the southward, Uganda is separated from the north end of Lake Tanganyika by a small strip of German territory, across which a right of way is sanctioned by treaty. Before long, then, by telegraph, by railway, and by steamer British influence may stretch from Cape Town to Cairo.

After the Zanzibar Sultanate had been placed under British protection it was necessary to reorganize its administration. The islands of Zanzibar and Pemba remained under the more or less direct rule of the Sultan, who, however, appointed English ministers to control the various departments of state, and was at the same time subject to the advice and financial control of the British Agent and Consul-General. Several sultans succeeded one another and died in a few years, and on the occasion of the last death (1897) a palace revolt occurred, occasioned by a disappointed claimant to the throne. This revolt, however, was really a premature outbreak on the part of the Arab party, who frankly disliked British interference which entailed the abolition of the slave trade and even the disappearance of slavery, and were sufficiently foolish to imagine that they were strong enough to resist us. A few hours' bombardment of the Sultan's head-quarters quelled this rebellion. Since that time, by degrees, and with a wise system

of gradation, slavery is being abolished, and will soon cease to exist as a recognized status.

On the mainland the East African Company continued to rule till 1894, when it was bought out by the Sultan of Zanzibar, whose direct rule over British East Africa, as far as the borders of the Uganda Protectorate, was restored under British officials. The organization of something like a civilized administration naturally caused revolts among the Arab party; for on the Mombasa coast were chieftains who came of an old Arab stock, settled in East Africa for many centuries. These people, under the leadership of 'Sultan' Mbaruk, were constantly at war with the Sultan of Zanzibar before the establishment of the British protectorate. They now rose against British administration, but were thoroughly subdued by the introduction of Indian troops, who have proved as satisfactory and as useful in British East Africa and in Uganda as in British Central Africa.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ITALIANS IN AFRICA.

THE part played by Italy in the opening up of Africa after the wiping out of Roman civilization in that continent by the Arab invasion was remarkable; it was not, however, a part attributable to Italy as a whole, but to some of her component states. The little principality of Amalfi had early dealings with the Saracens, and imported from them some knowledge of the new navigation, and of that new group of fruit trees—the orange family—which was to find a second home in Italy. Pisa, Genoa, and Venice alternately warred and traded with the north of Africa. Pisa introduced camels into Italy in 1622, and Naples obtained from Egypt the domestic Indian buffalo earlier still, perhaps in the 13th century. Sicily was finally conquered by the Saracens in 832 A.D.; and Sardinia from 712 became intermittently a Saracen possession for five centuries until it was definitely rescued by the Aragonese. Consequently Sicilian and Sardinian renegades figure largely in the history of Tunis, Tripoli, and Algeria. But the two states which before the Portuguese era shared most prominently in the commerce of North Africa were Genoa and Venice. Genoa had most to do with the Tunis littoral: she had intermittent establishments at Tabarka and Bone, besides occasionally holding Mehdia on the coast of Tunis. Venice cultivated a friendship with Egypt during and after the Crusades, and in this way obtained control over the Indian trade, until the

Portuguese discovered and utilized the Cape route. Then the interest of Italy in Africa waned and vanished. For several centuries Naples and Sardinia submitted to be harried by Moorish pirates without making any but the most feeble reprisals.

Unified Italy, however, began to assert herself, at first in Tunis. During the '60's of this century the affairs of Tunis, instead of being debated between France and England, were submitted to the consideration of a third power, the Kingdom of Italy; and at the close of the '60's a triple control of these three powers had been established over its finances. Then England ceased to claim a decisive voice in the control of this tottering Turkish regency, and France and Italy were left face to face. Italy had to give way. She had, however, for some time been cultivating an interest in Tripoli, where she had established, as in Tunis and Egypt, "Royal schools" for the gratuitous teaching of Italian; but a too vivid display of her interest in the affairs of Tripoli after the French occupation of Tunis caused the Sultan of Turkey to reinforce his garrison there by 10,000 soldiers, and Italy decided that the time was not now. Italian influence of a more or less Levantine, denationalized stamp became well established in Egypt before the English occupation, and had to a great extent replaced that of France, the Italian language being employed as a kind of Lingua Franca. The present writer can remember when first visiting Egypt in 1884 that most of the letter-boxes at the post-offices had on them "Buca per le lettre," while Italian was much better understood in the towns than French, English of course not being understood at all at that time. So that if it be true that Mr Gladstone in 1882 invited Italy to take the place of France in a dual control with England over Egypt, the proposal at the time it was made was not such a preposterous one as it might now appear.

So far back as 1870 Italy had cast an eye over Abyssinia, and had purchased a small site on Assab Bay as a coaling

station. Assab Bay, in the Red Sea, was on the inhospitable, ownerless Danakil coast, not far from the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. In 1875 the suspicious movements of Italian ships about Sokotra obliged England to take that island under her protection. From 1870 onwards Italian missionaries and Italian travellers had begun to move about this coast, and to explore the south of Abyssinia. In 1880 the Italian Government revived its claim to Assab Bay, but did not take actual possession of it until July 1882, when the bombardment of Alexandria had awakened Europe to the apprehension of a great change in Egyptian affairs. An acrimonious correspondence took place between Italy, Egypt, and Turkey regarding this claim to Assab Bay; but Italy received the tacit support of England, and when the Egyptian hold over the Sudan crumbled, the Italians rapidly extended their occupation north and south, until Italian influence was conterminous on the south with the French territory of Obok (and consequently opposite the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb), and on the north reached to Ras Kasar, some 100 miles south-east of Suakim. In this manner Italy acquired about 650 miles of Red Sea coast, including the ancient and important port of Masawa. This coast in its present condition of sterility would be of little value did it not command the easiest and nearest approaches to Abyssinia. In one part of the coast the natives are practically of Abyssinian stock, and Abyssinia has constantly striven through centuries to maintain her hold on the seaboard, but has always been driven back to her mountains by maritime races, such as the Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Turks. Seeing Italy step in after the downfall of Egypt to replace that power in Masawa and elsewhere, King John of Abyssinia soon fell out with the Italians. The Italians had occupied an inland town called Sahati, formerly an Egyptian stronghold. Ras Alula, an Abyssinian general, with 10,000 men attacked 450 Italian troops on their way to Sahati, and, as may be imagined, massacred nearly all of them. Italy felt

her honour at stake, and in spite of the expense, would have been obliged to commence an Abyssinian war but for the good offices of the British Government. Lord Salisbury sent Mr, afterwards Sir Gerald, Portal on a mission to Abyssinia, which had the effect of arranging a temporary peace between the Italians and King John. Shortly afterwards King John of Abyssinia advanced against the Mahdists, and was killed in battle. Italy then occupied the posts of Keren and Asmara, which gave her control over the mountain roads of Abyssinia. She had previously maintained a great friendliness with Menelik, the vassal king of Shoa. Abyssinia proper may be said to be divided into three principal districts, which sometimes become semi-independent satrapies or kingdoms—Tigre, on the north, Amhara, in the centre, and Shoa to the south. When King John of Abyssinia died, Menelik, as the strongest of his vassals, seized somewhat illegally the Abyssinian Empire. Although now viewing the Italians in a more suspicious manner, he nevertheless concluded a treaty with them, which enabled him to negotiate a loan and to obtain a large quantity of war material, but contained a clause of "mutual protection." The Italian protectorate over Abyssinia was recognized by England and by Germany, but not by France or Russia. In order to annoy Italy as a member of the Triple Alliance, France and Russia commenced encouraging Menelik to a repudiation of the Italian protectorate, and supplied him with quantities of arms and ammunition. Russia, indeed, for years past had shown a disposition to concern herself about Abyssinia on the pretext that the Greek Christianity of that country linked it specially to Russia. She sent numerous "scientific" expeditions thither, and also a party of Cossack-monks to stimulate Abyssinian Christianity. On one occasion these Cossack-monks even went to the length of seizing a port on the French coast, near Obok. This was too much, even for the French, and force was used to expel these truculent missionaries.

In March 1891, with a view to regulating future action on the part of Italy, England had entered into an agreement delimiting the respective spheres of British and Italian interests in East Africa, and by this agreement Italy was permitted, if she found it necessary for military purposes, to occupy the abandoned post of Kasala (then in the hands of the Dervishes), on the frontiers of the Egyptian Sudan. Accordingly this post was occupied by Italy in 1894. In the beginning of 1895, the Italian forces being again attacked by the Abyssinians, the war was carried into the enemy's country, and after several sanguinary defeats had been inflicted on the Abyssinians, the greater part of the Tigre Province was occupied. Menelik, whose administrative capital still remained at Adis Abeba in Shoa, organized a vast army, and prepared to defend his kingdom. In the early spring of 1896 General Baratieri (in fear lest he might be superseded, and without waiting for sufficient reinforcements) assumed the offensive against the Abyssinians in the vicinity of Adua, with the result that he sustained a terrible reverse. Nearly half the Italian army was killed, and of the remainder many prisoners were taken. This was a terrible blow to Italy, and its effects on European politics were far-reaching. All thought of an Italian protectorate over Abyssinia was at an end, a position frankly recognized by Italy in her subsequent treaty of peace with Menelik. She had lost but little of her original colony of "Eritrea," but Eritrea is of small value except as the stepping-stone to Abyssinia. The French and Russians were triumphant, and French adulation of the Emperor Menelik was scarcely worthy of a nation in the high position of France. A British mission was sent in 1897 to open up friendly relations with Abyssinia, and to establish a political agency at the king's court. The treaty concluded seemed at first sight not wholly satisfactory to British interests, as it yielded a small portion of Somaliland to Abyssinia, and did not provide for any delimitation of Abyssinian boundaries on the west; but apparently there were other clauses not made

public which subsequently ensured the friendly neutrality of Menelik during the Khartum campaign. It is possible, of course, that urged on by European powers hostile to England, Menelik may make a bid for dominion in the Nile valley; but if he measures his forces against those of England he may receive a rude awakening: his advisers should remember Magdala.

Finding that Germany did not intend to push claims, half-developed, to the Somali coast, Italy in 1889 began to make treaties in that direction, and by the end of that year had advanced a claim over the whole Somali coast from the west side of Cape Guardafui to the mouth of the river Jub, a claim subsequently confirmed by agreements with England and with the Sultan of Zanzibar. Italian enterprize has led to a great deal of geographical discovery near the Jub River and the Webbe Shebeili, an eccentric stream, which after arriving within a few miles of the sea and meandering along parallel with the coast, loses itself in a sandy desert near the mouth of the Jub River. Several Italian expeditions have come to grief in these Somali and Galla countries, but Italy still holds on, and deserves to succeed in the long run. An Italian commercial company has been founded to deal with the exploitation of the Benadir coast—once in the hands of the Sultan of Zanzibar—where there is still some lucrative trade to be done in products of the interior. But Italy will never prosper in this East African possession until she comes to an agreement with France as to the inland boundary of Obok. If this were settled with a fair regard to Italian interests, Abyssinia might be left to its own devices, and in the rich Galla countries at the head waters of the Webbe Shebeili and the Jub Italy would find a country well worth developing, and fairly healthy for settlement.

CHAPTER XIV.

GERMAN AFRICA.

GERMAN settlement in Africa is not altogether the outcome of the scramble for Africa in 1884; German settlements on the coast of Africa existed 200 years ago, and Prussian or German protectorates in Africa were discussed during the '60's of this century. Ships from the Mark of Brandenburg (the mother of the Prussian monarchy) or, at any rate, belonging to Brandenburg owners, stole out of the Baltic and took a part in the West African trade in slaves and gold when Charles II was king of England. These ships were much harassed by the French, Portuguese, and Dutch, but the Brandenburgers, together with the Prussian Company of Emden[1], managed to establish a foothold at the close of the 17th century on the Gold Coast, where they held for a time Grossfriedricksburg and Takrana. The little island of Arguin near Cape Blanco, off the Senegal coast, was bought by Frederic William (the Great Elector of Brandenburg) from the Dutch, and was held for some years. The Brandenburg African Company was definitely founded in 1681, but by 1720 these North Germans, distracted by quarrels at home, had abandoned their West African enterprise.

During the '40's of the present century some consideration

[1] East Friesland.

was given in Germany to the question of colonization, but attention was directed to unoccupied territories in America, and nothing was said about Africa. Between 1860 and 1865, a Hanoverian Baron, Von der Decken, was exploring Kilimanjaro and the East coast of Africa. It began to dawn on him that Zanzibar and the Zanzibar coast would form a legitimate field for German enterprise, settlement, and colonization, "especially after the opening of the Suez Canal." But although Von der Decken was killed on the Jub River in 1865, he transmitted his opinions to Otto Kersten, who wrote an article in 1867, stating that Von der Decken had had ideas of buying Mombasa from the Sultan of Zanzibar in order to found a German settlement. By this time Hamburg merchants had established a flourishing trade at Zanzibar, and until 1885 the German representative at that place was almost invariably a Hamburg man; indeed before the unification of the German Empire there was a Hamburg (Hanseatic) consul at Zanzibar rather than a German representative. Until the deliberate intervention of Germany on the East coast of Africa, these Hanseatic merchants practically placed themselves under British protection.

In 1878 the German African Society of Berlin was founded as a branch of the International African Association. It absorbed two similar societies dealing with Africa more from a geographical point of view. German 'international' stations were founded between Zanzibar and Tanganyika, and German explorers made a careful examination of the country round Lake Mweru, and the river Lualaba. Other German explorers (Wissmann amongst their number) examined the southern half of the Congo Free State, and when the present writer visited the Congo in 1882–3 the German explorers, nominally in the service of the King of the Belgians, made no secret of the desire of Germany to acquire control over the Upper Congo. This, no doubt, was one reason why Bismarck opposed the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1883–4. But when

the conference he had negotiated was brought about he felt that French and Belgian opposition united and the utter absence of German claims made a German Congo State impossible. The energies of Germany were then directed towards the Niger, but here they were thwarted by the National African, afterwards the Royal Niger Company.

In 1882 the German Colonial Society was founded at Frankfort and met with enthusiastic support.

In the '50's, '60's, and '70's, German Protestant missionaries had established themselves in Damaraland and Namakwaland, in South-West Africa. In 1864 some of these missionaries bought the estates of the Walfish Bay Copper Company, to the north-east of Walfish Bay, and here they hoisted the German flag. As early as 1877 Sir Bartle Frere began to regard the proceedings of the German missionaries with suspicion, and to combat their action proposed adding Damaraland to the South African Empire. But the British Government would only permit the annexation of Walfish Bay. About 1880 the German missionaries renewed their complaints as to the treatment they suffered at the hands of the natives and the lack of protection they received from the British authorities. Prince Bismarck took up these claims, and asked the British Government whether it was prepared to protect Europeans in Damaraland and the Namakwa country. Lord Granville repudiated any responsibility outside Walfish Bay, and informed the Governor of the Cape that the Orange River was the north-western boundary of Cape Colony. In 1881 the German missionaries asked for a gunboat to protect their interests on the Namakwa coast. The Foreign Office was consulted, and again repudiated any British claims to this territory outside Walfish Bay. At the beginning of 1883 Herr Lüderitz of Bremen, acting possibly under the inspiration of the German Colonial Society, asked the German Government whether he would receive German protection if he acquired territories in South-West Africa. He received a guarded

consent (after the German Foreign Office had again consulted the British Government and received a vague reply). In April 1883 the agents of Herr Lüderitz went with a German ship to the Bay of Angra Pequena, 150 miles north of the Orange River. The Germans landed there, and marched inland 100 miles to the German mission station of Bethany. The Hottentot chief of that district sold to these agents of Herr Lüderitz a piece of land 24 miles long and 10 miles broad, with that breadth of frontage on the Bay of Angra Pequena, including all sovereign rights. On the 2nd of May, 1883, the German flag was hoisted on the shore of Angra Pequena Bay over the first German colony. When the news reached the Cape, an English gunboat, the Boadicea, went to Angra Pequena, and was met at that place by a German gunboat, whose commander informed the captain of the Boadicea that he was in German waters, and could exercise no authority there. But nearly five months had apparently elapsed between the hoisting of the German flag at Angra Pequena and this visit of the British warship, and during that period no action had been taken in England. Nor, indeed, could any action have been taken after the explicit manner in which both Lord Beaconsfield's and Mr Gladstone's Governments had disavowed any British claims to the coast of South-West Africa. Too late, Lord Granville informed Prince Bismarck that "any claim of sovereignty or jurisdiction on the part of a foreign power over any part of the coast between the Portuguese boundary and the Orange River would be regarded as an encroachment on the legitimate rights of Cape Colony." Even then Germany did not proceed to immediate action, but repeatedly pressed the question whether England did or did not intend to take upon herself the administration of this Damara coast. The British Government sought to evade a direct reply by consulting the Cape Government. No answer was returned by the latter till May 1884, when the Cape offered to take over the control of the whole coast up to

Walfish Bay. But in April Germany had made a statement that she would not recognize British protection over this coast, and on the 21st of June she secured from England a recognition of a German protectorate. If the action of the British authorities was blameworthy in refusing to take Germany seriously, and in puzzling her by declining to proclaim a British protectorate between the Orange River and the Portuguese possessions, the blame falls equally upon the Cape Parliament. It was the parsimony of Cape Colony which feared to be led into expense, coupled with the shortsightedness of the English ministry of the day which refused to believe in the possibility of Germany desiring colonies, that permitted Germany to establish herself as a South African power. As to the German Government, it behaved throughout with perfect 'correctness.' It gave the British Government ample time and opportunity to make good any preceding rights.

Germany did not act here as she did in the Cameroons, where she merely informed the British Government that Dr Nachtigal had been commissioned by the German Government to visit the West coast of Africa in order to report on the state of German commerce, and asked that he might be furnished with recommendations to the British authorities in West Africa. It did, it is true, mention that Dr Nachtigal would conduct negotiations connected with certain questions, but the context implied that these questions were commercial matters. Therefore the British Government, which had already made arrangements for establishing a protectorate over the whole coast between Lagos and the Cameroons, did not cause Consul Hewett to return to his post with any undue hurry. Dr Nachtigal arrived at the Iles de Los, on the North-West coast of Africa, on the 1st of June, 1884, with the intention of taking under German protection the River Dubreka, situated in the district which the French call Rivières du Sud, but as there was some doubt as to French claims nothing further was done at the time, and when afterwards the German flag was hoisted

it was at once removed on the receipt of a French protest. On the 5th of July Nachtigal reached a district on the east of the English Gold Coast colony, now known as Togoland. Here arrangements were made with the native chiefs and the country declared a German protectorate. Then Dr Nachtigal steamed right across to the Cameroons. Here he was just in time. The principal chief, King Bell, had been won over by the gift of £1000 to sign a treaty with Germany. The other chiefs refused to do so, and Bell himself waited for a week to see if Consul Hewett would arrive. However, when the Consul did come on the 19th of July King Bell had signed the treaty, and the German flag had been hoisted over the Cameroons River. Consul Hewett was in time to carry out the rest of his programme, and as far as actual treaty-signing went we had only lost a tiny piece of the coast line we had determined to secure; but in order that a grudging spirit might not be shown to Germany she was finally allowed to take over all the Cameroons district[1].

In East Africa Germany's procedure may be summarized thus. Count Pfeil, Dr Peters, and Dr Jühlke arrived at Zanzibar on the 4th of November, 1884, as deck passengers, dressed like mechanics. Officially discountenanced by the German Consul, they nevertheless left at once for the interior, and on the 19th of November the first treaty was signed with a native chief, and the German flag was hoisted in Uzeguha. Eventually other treaties were concluded in Nguru, Usagara, Ukami, and other adjoining countries, which resulted in a solid block of 60,000 square miles being ostensibly secured on paper. Dr Peters hastened back to Berlin, and on the 12th of February, 1885, he had already founded a German East

[1] Intense regret for such concessions may be spared when it is borne in mind that the United States of Europe (as they would have become in an Anti-British League) would hardly have allowed even Free-trade England to acquire all the coastline of the Dark Continent.

African Company, to whom he transferred his treaty rights. On the 27th of February following the German Emperor issued an official notice of the extension of his protection to the territories acquired, or which might be further acquired. In vain the Sultan of Zanzibar protested. The British representative was instructed to support German claims, and eventually it was decided that the Sultan of Zanzibar's authority was to be limited to a territory ten miles broad along the coast between Cape Delgado and Somaliland.

In May 1885 the Foreign Office informed Germany that a British company desired to develop the country between the Mombasa coast and the Victoria Nyanza. The foundation for this scheme was the treaties which the present writer had concluded on or near Kilima-njaro in the preceding year, and which at the desire of the Foreign Office had been transferred to the late Mr James Hutton of Manchester. The Sultan of Zanzibar, however, refused to give in, even to British representations, and made strenuous efforts to support his claims to the hinterland of the East African coast. On the 7th of August, 1885, a German squadron anchored in front of Zanzibar and delivered an ultimatum. The Sultan bowed to the inevitable, and recognized the German territorial claims, including a protectorate over Witu[1], a little patch of territory near the Tana River. Gradually, however, matters settled down. An agreement was come to in 1885 between the British and German Governments to recognize with France the independence of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and the definition of his exact dominions by a joint commission. Eventually in 1886 the respective British and German spheres in East Africa were defined. In the same forceful manner the Germans had taken Kilima-njaro. With this exception, a line was drawn from Wanga on the coast straight to the north-east shore of

[1] The concession of Witu had been obtained by the Denhardt brothers on the 8th of April, 1885, and a German protectorate was declared on the 27th of May.

Lake Victoria Nyanza. The limit of the British sphere on the north was the Tana River, Germany maintaining her hold on Witu. The German Government then came to terms with Portugal, and agreed that the territories of the two powers in East Africa should march together as far as the east coast of Lake Nyasa. Germany also concluded treaties along the Somali coast.

The German Colonization Society and the German Colonial Society subsequently united under the latter title, while the German East African Association had been incorporated by Imperial charter. Further subsidiary companies were organized, and by 1888 numerous plantations had been established in the north of German East Africa, near the coast. In 1888 the German East Africa Company obtained from the Sultan of Zanzibar the lease for 50 years of the whole of the Sultan's coast territory from the Ruvuma River to the Umba. A great development then took place in the Company's operations, which were more and more identified with the German Government. A staff of over 60 officials was sent out to carry on the new administration. Sir Charles Euan Smith, who had succeeded Sir John Kirk, warned the German administration in a friendly manner that unless greater care for Arab susceptibilities was shown in replacing the Sultan of Zanzibar's government on the coast troubles with the Arabs might ensue. His warning was only too well founded. Five days after taking over the administration of the country—on the 21st of August, 1884—disturbances fomented by the Arab and Swahili population broke out, and in another month the Germans held very few posts on the coast or in the interior. An animosity also began to be directed not only against the Germans, but against all Europeans, and the situation became very serious. In 1889, the resources of the Company having broken down, Captain Hermann Wissmann (now Major von Wissmann) was appointed Imperial Commissioner for East Africa. With 1000 native troops, mainly Sudanese recruited with the help of

the British Government, 200 German sailors, and 60 German officers and non-commissioned officers, von Wissman carried on a vigorous campaign against the Arabs and Swahili, and by the end of 1889 he had put down the revolt and captured and executed the leader of it, Bushiri. It took six months longer, however, to quiet some of the interior districts and those near the River Ruvuma.

In the middle of 1890 Germany concluded a very wise arrangement with England, by which, as has already been described in another chapter, all German possessions to the north of the British boundary at the Umba River were given up, and a British protectorate over Zanzibar was recognized, while the German boundaries were carried inland to the frontier of the Congo Free State. On the south, Great Britain was admitted to the south end of Tanganyika, and secured all the west coast of Lake Nyasa. From 1890 to the present time German settlement and the development of German East Africa have gone on without any disagreeable check. In 1893 a large and well-appointed steamer, the Hermann Von Wissmann, was placed on Lake Nyasa, and the British authorities round that lake were amply rewarded for any help they might have contributed towards its conveyance thither by the services which the German steamer afterwards rendered in acting as a transport for a portion of the British forces in the last war against the Lake Nyasa Arabs.

On the Zanzibar coast new quarters in the old Arab towns are springing up like magic, the streets are being widened, are kept clean, and are well lit. Flourishing plantations cover many acres of what was formerly waste land. There is fair security for life and property, even in the distant interior. The Arabs are becoming reconciled to German rule, while on the other hand the German officials are learning the art of dealing tactfully with subject races. Since 1890, when the coast strip leased from the Sultan of Zanzibar was finally purchased from him, the whole of

German East Africa has been under direct Imperial administration. It is likely to turn out in course of time a flourishing tropical settlement; not a country which Germans could colonize in the sense that Australia or Canada are colonizable, but a Ceylon, a Java, a Southern India, where the German planter may make a competence, where the goods of Germany may find unrestricted markets, and where the Teuton may educate and raise a degraded race into a higher state of civilization.

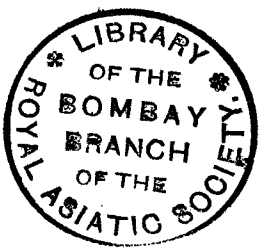
The subsequent history of the Cameroons has been much like that of German East Africa. Revolts, 'sharp lessons,' then attacks by hostile tribes inland, which are quelled by expeditions and the building of forts, followed by other revolts still further in the interior, to be succeeded by still further victories and advances; but on the whole increasing peace and order throughout the country, and a great development of trade. Unfortunately, as amongst some officials of the East Africa Company, so among a few of the Government servants in the Cameroons, there were instances of great cruelties committed about three years ago, cruelties which led to a serious revolt among the negro soldiery. Germany wisely did not hush up these affairs, but investigated them in an open court and punished the guilty. It will be seen, I fancy, when history takes a review of the foundation of these African states that the unmixed Teuton—Dutchman or German—is on first contact with subject races apt to be harsh and even brutal, but that he is no fool and wins the respect of the negro or the Asiatic, who admire brute force; while his own good nature in time induces a softening of manners when the native has ceased to rebel and begun to cringe. There is this that is hopeful and wholesome about the Germans. They are quick to realise their own defects, and equally quick to amend them. As in commerce so in government, they observe, learn and master the best principles. The politician would be very shortsighted who underrated the greatness of the German

character, or reckoned on the evanescence of German dominion in strange lands.

In South-West Africa Germany had, by arrangement with Portugal, and eventually with England, secured a protectorate or sphere of influence over a very large stretch of country, bounded on the north by Portuguese West Africa, on the south by the Orange River, and on the east by British Bechuanaland, with, in addition, a long, narrow strip, which reached the Zambezi at its confluence with the Chobe. This country along the coast line is very barren; it is, in fact, a hopeless desert, most hopeless of all between the Orange River and Walfish Bay. But the interior is mountainous, and in these mountains there are stretches of well-watered country where cattle are kept in enormous herds. Moreover, this mountainous country is very healthy. With the Bantu Herero, who inhabit the northern part of German South-West Africa, the Germans have got on very well, thanks to the influence exerted by the German missionaries; but with the mingled Hottentots who inhabit the southern section of the colony and almost all the coast-belt the Germans have been constantly at war. These Hottentots, who seem to have some slight infusion of Dutch blood which renders them more warlike than their relations in Cape Colony, are Christians of a kind, wear clothes, bear Dutch names, and have found a leader in a certain Witbooi, who has again and again inflicted defeats on small parties of German soldiers, has made treaties and broken them, and from first to last has given the Germans a great deal of trouble. Although he can boast of but a paltry number of followers, he fights in a waterless, mountainous country, where concealment is easy and pursuit difficult. Increased settlement of the country by Europeans—which may yet be brought about by the discovery of mineral wealth—would soon dispose of the inconveniences caused by these nomad Hottentots.

In Togoland, on the Slave Coast of West Africa, there have been few events worth recording since the establishment of a

German protectorate thirteen years ago. Boundaries have been settled with France and England, except a small area of debateable land on the White Volta, which will probably be shared between England and Germany; high and less unhealthy land for European settlement has been discovered in the interior; there have been no disturbances with the natives, and German trade has prospered.


LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FRENCH IN MADAGASCAR.

THE Island of Madagascar is *possibly* alluded to by the Alexandrian Greek geographer, Ptolemy, who wrote during the second century after the birth of Christ, as "Menouthias[1]"; and by other classical geographers as Monouthis or Menoutheseas, though it is more probable that at most the Island of Pemba or one of the Comoros was meant both by Ptolemy's informants and the unknown authors of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea who first used the term "Menouthias" a century earlier (about A.D. 50). Then comes a break, and when the study of geography is resumed in Europe the allusions to this island are more obvious, and evidently come through post-Islamic Arabs; a large island in the Indian Ocean is alluded to as "Albargoa," and "Manutia-Alphil." Older Arab names were Serandab, Phenbalon, Quambalon. Later an allusion is made to it in Arab writings as "Jazirat-al-Komr" —"Island of the Full Moon," but this name more probably applies to what are still called the Comoro Islands, an adjoining archipelago. On the maps of the Venetian geographers Fra Mauro and Andrea Bianco between 1457 and 1459, wherein use has been made of Arab information, the Cape of Good Hope is indicated (forty years before the discovery of Diaz) as Cavo di Diab(olo), and Madagascar is given as a triangular island to the north-east, and has on it the names of

[1] Though there is much stronger evidence to show that Menouthias was a little island close to the African coast.

Sofala and Xengibar. From Arab sources we learn that an Indian dhow in 1420 rounded the southernmost point of Africa—Cape Diab—and, turning round, sailed back again past Madagascar, on the shore of which island they discovered a rukh's egg[1]. The first authentic news of Madagascar was brought to Portugal near the end of the 15th century by Pedro de Covilham, whose journeys overland to India have been alluded to in Chapter II. On the 1st of February, 1506, a Portuguese fleet sent out by King Manoel, under Francisco de Almeida, discovered the east coast of Madagascar, and ultimately named the island "Saõ Lourençe," because in the following year its west coast was discovered and its shape more clearly defined by Gomez d'Abreu on St Laurence's Day (10th August). The name "Madagascar," like the adjective "Malagasy," is probably of native origin, the former word having been introduced in its present form by the Portuguese, and the latter by the French.

It was not until 1540 that any Portuguese actually settled on the island, and those who made this venture at its south-east extremity were nearly all massacred in 1548. At the end of the 16th century the Dutch visited Madagascar, and about the same time Dominican, Ignatian, and Lazarist monk-missionaries made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a hearing for Christianity. Between 1618 and 1640 English and Dutch adventurers nibbled at Madagascar, but the hostile and treacherous attitude of the natives and the unhealthy climate of the island caused these attempts to end invariably in disaster. In 1642, however, the French "Company of the East" was formed under the patronage of Cardinal Richelieu with the main object of colonizing Madagascar. Pronis, a French Protestant of dissolute habits, was sent out as Governor. Two years later a rival project for the same purpose was started in England under the presidency of Prince Rupert, and a small station was founded at St Augustine's Bay, but this was soon

[1] Almost certainly this was an egg of the gigantic *Aepyornis*.

after abandoned, and the Company broken up on account of the Civil War in England.

The name of the first French settlement at the south-east extremity of Madagascar was "Fort Dauphin." Pronis, whose immoral life shocked the French settlers, was replaced as Governor by Flacourt, but the fortunes of the settlement were chequered. The parent Company got into trouble, and its charter was abolished. The royal concession of Madagascar was then bandied about from nobleman to nobleman, and was finally sold to Louis XIV, who, having reassumed these rights on behalf of the crown, sent out the Duc de la Meilleraye. One of the officers of the staff of the Duc de la Meilleraye was Vacher de Rochelle, who explored the country, and acquired the rare advantage of winning the friendship of the Malagasy. Vacher de Rochelle, for some reason unknown nicknamed and ordinarily known as La Case[1], was admired by the natives for his courage, and was invited to marry the heiress of a powerful native chief. He did so and becoming dissatisfied with the mismanagement of the French settlement retired into the interior, and became King-Consort of the state of Ambole at the death of his father-in-law. Nevertheless, when the French got into difficulties with the natives and were hard pressed Vacher de la Rochelle came to their assistance with great bravery. This remarkable person, whose life should be written by some framer of romances, died about 1671, assassinated by a native.

In 1664 the French East India Company was founded, and took over Madagascar amongst other concessions under the pretentious title of Gallia Orientalis. As if to punish them for this overweening assumption, a great massacre occurred eight years afterwards, leading to the almost entire extinction of the French settlers round Fort Dauphin. The few survivors fled to the Island of Bourbon (which the French had taken in 1642). Nevertheless, in spite of this disaster, the French Government

[1] But by the natives as Andrian Potsy, i.e. "White King."

calmly annexed Madagascar by an Order in Council of 1686, which was confirmed in 1719, 1720, and 1725.

At the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, European pirates, who had begun to infest the eastern seas, and to trade in defiance of the commercial monopolies given to various Chartered East Indian companies, gradually made Madagascar their head-quarters, and formed several strongly fortified settlements hidden away up creeks or inlets or the mouths of rivers. Some of these pirates founded a cosmopolitan city of freedom which they called "Libertatia," on the island of St Marie, off the east coast of Madagascar. They were swept away by English and French war vessels in 1722–23.

In 1750 the French East India Company created a settlement on the island of St Marie de Madagascar, which underwent violent vicissitudes of fortune for the first few years of its life. In 1768 Fort Dauphin was for a short time reoccupied. In that year a man of superior scientific attainments, M. Poivre, was appointed Governor of Mauritius and initiated a scientific investigation of Madagascar by sending there a French naturalist, Philibert Commerson, who, as the result of his brief examination of the flora and fauna pointed out the isolated character of Madagascar. In 1774 the French naturalist Sonnerat[1] visited Madagascar, and discovered the Ravenala or "Traveller's Tree," and that extraordinary aberrant lemur, the Ayeaye.

In 1772 Madagascar was visited by a type of adventurer then very uncommon, an Austrian Pole, called Benyowski, who alternately offered his allegiance to France and England, and ultimately tried to carve out for himself a native Malagasy principality, as the result of which he was killed by the French in 1786.

Allusions were made in the first chapter of this book to the

[1] Already famous for his discoveries in India, and after whom a beautiful jungle fowl is named.

Malay invasion of Madagascar. This great island seems to have at first been peopled by negro or negroid races from East Africa, while Arabs had from very early days settled for trading purposes in the adjoining Comoro Islands[1] and in the north of Madagascar. But at a period of time probably antecedent to the Christian era Madagascar was invaded by a people of Malay stock, coming thither from the Malay Archipelago. Despite the vast distance which separates Java and Madagascar, there is a current always streaming from the Sunda Islands towards the east coast of Madagascar and the Comoro Islands. Aided by the east Trade Winds, Malay junks or even outrigger canoes with sails might conceivably be driven across the Indian Ocean to Madagascar in a few weeks. Even of recent years cases have been known of Javanese junks being stranded on the Comoro Islands, in one case with a Javanese crew on board. However, numbers of Malays must have invaded Madagascar at once in order to have been able to overcome and absorb the previous negro inhabitants. It would almost seem as though we had here an instance of deliberate over-sea colonization on the part of this interesting race, which had already pushed eastward, almost further from its base, to the Hawaii Islands. When the term "Malay" is used to describe these Asiatic invaders of Madagascar it does not necessarily imply the direct descendants of the Malays of the Malay Archipelago, but of an older race, from whom Malays, Polynesians, and other non-Papuan peoples of the Pacific are descended—a divergent branch of the Mongol stock[2].

[1] The Malay immigration into the Comoro Islands was relatively slight. The bulk of the population was composed of East Coast negroes, speaking a Bantu dialect allied to the tongues spoken on the Zanzibar coast. There was a large influx of Arabs, however, and this mingling with the negroes produced the present race of the Comoro Islanders, which is a very fine type of the successful results that attend the mixture of the Semite and the negro.

[2] The Hovas of Central Madagascar are said to bear a strong physical resemblance to the Japanese.

About the middle of the 18th century a tribe dwelling on the high plateau of East-central Madagascar, known as the Hovas, was much harried by the more mixed races around them, who were of stronger physique. At last, driven into a corner, they turned at bay, and from being the persecuted became the persecutors: by means of much better military organization they pursued and conquered the tribes which had harassed them, and their conquests, spreading to the east coast and the south, brought them into contact with European traders and settlers.

In 1792 the National Assembly of France sent M. Lescallier to visit Madagascar. In 1801 Bory de St Vincent went thither and announced that the colonization of Madagascar would atone to France for the loss of San Domingo. In the following year Mr Inverarity, of the Honourable East India Company's service, made a survey of Bembatoka Bay, a harbour on the west coast, since better known by the name of its principal town, Mojanga. Lord Keith, the British admiral in those waters, had visited the place in 1791, and had directed the attention of the Indian Government to the worth of Madagascar. In 1807 the French, in spite of British hostilities, made a determined attempt to settle at Foule Point[1]. In the following year, Impoina, the most powerful Hova chief on the Imerina plateau, died, leaving the supreme Hova chieftainship to his second son, Radama.

When the English had seized Mauritius, Bourbon, and the Seychelle Islands, it was determined to finish the work of clearing the French out of the Indian Ocean by taking the trading stations which still remained in their possession on the east coast of Madagascar, namely, Tamatave and Foule Point. In 1811 this was effected, and Tamatave was occupied by British soldiers. This capture was ratified by the definite treaty signed at Paris on May 30, 1814, which

[1] A post a little to the north of Tamatave on the east coast.

ceded the settlements in Madagascar as "one of the dependencies of Mauritius[1]." The Island of Bourbon was, however, restored to France by this treaty, and was re-christened Réunion. Sir Robert Farquhar, a very enterprising governor of Mauritius, obtained soon afterwards a large concession from the native chiefs of the north-east of Madagascar, which included Diego Suarez Bay. Various proclamations were issued in the *Mauritius Gazette* claiming Madagascar as a British possession. On the other hand, it had been agreed that all French possessions in Madagascar which were in existence in 1792 were to be restored to France by England; but as a matter of fact, in 1792 France held no post in Madagascar, all places having been abandoned. Tamatave was not founded till 1804. All this confusion was due to the ignorance of local geography, then most characteristic of both British and French Government offices. Nevertheless, it is clear that France imagined that she still had rights over Madagascar, because in 1817 the French Governor of Réunion protested against the British proclamation declaring Madagascar an appendage of Mauritius, and the French protest was further supported by the reoccupation of the island of St Marie de Madagascar. While Sir Robert Farquhar was in England on leave of absence, the Acting-Commissioner, a military officer named Hall, deliberately undid much of Sir Robert Farquhar's work, and thereby prejudiced any further insistence on British claims over Madagascar. Henceforth when Sir Robert Farquhar returned he deemed it the better policy to back up the efforts of the Hova king Radama to conquer the whole of the island, and proclaim himself king of all Madagascar, in spite of a protest from the French, which was absolutely disregarded.

In 1818 the first missionaries of the London Missionary Society arrived, and established themselves on the Hova

[1] Further confirmed by the treaty of the 13th of November, 1815.

Plateau. Radama was much helped in his conquests by the loan of several English soldiers and non-commissioned officers, amongst whom one made himself specially prominent, Mr Hastie. By degrees Radama took possession of Tamatave (held for some years by a French mulatto, Jean René), and of all other French posts on the mainland of Madagascar, including Fort Dauphin. Here he cut down the French flag and deported the small French garrison to the island of St Marie de Madagascar. Radama died in 1828, and was succeeded in a very irregular, Catherine-the-Great manner by his senior wife, Ranaválona. But her policy was not that of her great prototype in Russia, for it was a reactionary return to barbarism. She persecuted the native Christians and the missionaries, showed the greatest enmity to any foreign influence, and so flouted the French that the latter were compelled to take some notice of her hostility. In 1829 the Government of Charles X decided to send a small expedition against Madagascar, which was to be largely composed of Yolof soldiers from Senegambia—a new departure in European warfare in Africa to be afterwards largely followed. The French bombarded Tamatave successfully, but were repulsed at Foule Point, though they made a successful attack on another Hova post. Still, the results of the expedition were ineffective, though the Prince de Polignac wrote to the Queen of Madagascar proposing a French protectorate, with French stations at Diego Suarez, St Augustine's Bay, and other places on the coast. But the Government of July reversed this policy, and evacuated all French posts on the mainland of Madagascar, after which there was not for years a Frenchman on Madagascar soil, with the exception of a remarkable personage named Laborde, originally a French shipwrecked sailor, who had been sent up to the Queen of Madagascar for her to decide on his fate. From his comely appearance he found great favour in her eyes, and was the only European tolerated at her court, where he attained a very influential

position. In 1833 a French surveying party had pronounced Diego Suarez Bay to be a very suitable place for a settlement.

During the '30's of the present century Queen Ranaválona had made herself infamous by her persecution of the native Christians and by forcing all European missionaries to leave the island; in addition to which her soldiers in exacting tribute and in emphasizing their conquests over the Sakalavas committed the most atrocious cruelties and wholesalé slaughters. The Queen of Madagascar, feeling at last even in her remoteness that she was banned by Europe, sent an embassy in 1836 to William IV of England, but the envoys effected nothing in the way of renewing friendly relations.

In 1840 the Sakalavas[1], driven to desperation by the Hova attacks, placed themselves under French protection, with the result that France, to enforce her protectorate, occupied the islands of Nosi Mitsiu, Nosi Be, and Nosi Komba, and over the island of Mayotta, in the Comoro Archipelago. In 1845 the Hova Government intensified its unfriendliness to Europeans by expelling all foreign traders from Tamatave. This action roused the French and English Governments, who replied by a joint bombardment of Tamatave. Unhappily, the bombardment was followed by a landing party, which met with a most disastrous repulse, that neither France nor England thought fit to revenge otherwise than by breaking off all political and commercial relations with Madagascar. Between 1847 and 1849 the French had abolished slavery in Réunion, and in their Madagascar possessions; but this philanthropic action subsequently caused outbreaks among the Sakalavas, who were angry at having their slave-trading operations interfered with by the French.

Between 1847 and 1852 the queen's son, Rakoto, heir-apparent to the throne, applied at intervals for French

[1] The tribes of the western half of Madagascar, a finer race physically than the Hovas owing to their much greater intermixture with negroes.

protection, in order that he might depose his mother, and put an end to her ferocious policy. No very definite answer was made to these appeals (which possibly were not genuine, but fabricated for their own purposes by the Frenchman Laborde, who still lived at the Malagasy capital, and by a M. Lambert, who visited Madagascar as a slave-trader), nor were they followed up by any action on the part of the French Government. In 1853 the merchants of Mauritius, finding that the Madagascar Government continued to refuse to pay the indemnity demanded by the British Government for the disaster of Tamatave (in consequence of which refusal trade with Tamatave was forbidden), subscribed amongst themselves and paid up the indemnity to the extent of £3,125. Trade was then reopened. In 1855 the French adventurer and ex-slave-trader, Lambert, visited Antananarivo, and after an interview with Prince Rakoto, conveyed from him to the French Government fresh proposals for a French protectorate; but these were rejected by the Emperor Napoleon III, because he was loyal to the British alliance and would do nothing in Madagascar which might seem unfriendly to Great Britain.

In 1856 Mr Ellis, one of the pioneers of the London Missionary Society's agents, who, after many years of work had left Madagascar in despair in 1836, was invited to return thither to confer with the queen, and went out as an informal messenger of the British Government. His mission resulted in nothing, however. Lambert, the French adventurer, returned to Madagascar in that year, and escorted to the capital Mme. Ida Pfeiffer (one of the earliest of women travellers, the Mrs Isabella Bird of her day). Lambert plotted a *coup d'état* which should place Rakoto on the throne under French influence, with Lambert himself as Prime Minister. But Rakoto was frightened, and kept his mother informed of the conspiracy. It was therefore nipped in the bud, and Lambert and Laborde were promptly expelled from the country, the latter after many years' residence losing in one day all his property in lands and

slaves. But in 1861 this ferocious old queen, who had ruled Madagascar with a rod of iron for 33 years, and had successfully set Europe at defiance, died, and was succeeded by her son Rakoto, who took the title of Radama II.

If Ranaválona, his mother, was like Catherine of Russia, Radama II resembled in his brief career Catherine's predecessor, the unhappy Peter III. He reversed the queen's anti-Christian policy, abolished customs' duties, and was such an enthusiastic reformer as almost to suggest flightiness. He invited and received an English envoy in 1861. Laborde and Lambert returned, and were received by him with almost extravagant affection. The foolish king signed without hesitating a deed presented to him by M. Lambert which gave the latter the most extravagant concessions in Madagascar. He is also supposed to have created Lambert "Duc d'Emirne," a title, however, which the ex-slave-trader soon found it wiser to drop from the ridicule it entailed. At this time also Roman Catholic missionaries[1] came out to settle in the Hova country. Mr Ellis also returned, and brought letters of congratulation from the British Government. The English missionaries re-established themselves, and in 1862 British and French Consuls were established at Antananarivo. The French Consul was Laborde, who had resided for so many years in Madagascar. But the Hovas were profoundly dissatisfied with their king's reforms and extraordinary generosity to Europeans. A palace revolution took place in 1862, and the unhappy Radama was strangled. A female cousin, Rabodo (Rasoherina), was proclaimed queen, but was dominated by the Prime Minister, as have been subsequently all the remaining queens of Madagascar. The French treaty was denounced on account of Lambert's claims. These last were compounded for finally by the payment of £36,247. 7*s.* in silver. The concession was returned to the Malagasy envoys, and solemnly burned at Tamatave.

[1] In 1840 Jesuit priests had again endeavoured to establish themselves in Madagascar, on the north-west coast, but they all died from fever.

The whole procedure of the French Government in supporting Lambert's unfair claim profoundly affected the Hova people, and caused them to be suspicious in future of all European enterprise. Queen Rasoherina died in 1868, and was succeeded by her cousin, Ranavâlona II, who established Christianity as the state religion. In her reign arose a very powerful Prime Minister, afterwards to be famous as the opponent of the French, Rainilaiarivony. In 1872 the French Government again allowed its influence in Madagascar to wane, and withdrew its subsidy from the Jesuit missionaries; but with returning energy, and in the dawn of the new phase of colonial activity, it resumed a more active policy at the beginning of the '80's. Laborde, the French Consul, died in 1878, but the Malagasy Government opposed his landed property passing to his heir on the plea that he was only a life tenant, and that no land could be alienated in Madagascar. The French Government supported the claims of Laborde's heirs, and disputed the matter between 1880 and 1882, at the same time reviving the idea of a French protectorate over the Sakalava of North-west Madagascar. The situation becoming strained, the Madagascar Government sent a mission to Europe, but it was unsuccessful in obtaining assurances of support. The Malagasy argued with some justice that the French treaty of 1868 recognized the queen's rule over the whole mainland of Madagascar, and made no mention of any French protectorate over the Sakalavas. But we know in the fable that the lamb's arguments availed but little with the wolf. The French had endeavoured in 1881 to find cause for a quarrel in the murder by the Sakalavas of four French subjects on the west coast of Madagascar, and claimed an indemnity from the Hova Government; which, logically, they could not have done if the country had been under a French protectorate. The Malagasy Government promptly paid the indemnity demanded; but when later on they endeavoured to strengthen their authority over the

Sakalavas, they were forbidden to do so by the French. In the following year, 1882, a French protectorate over the northern coast was distinctly asserted, and the demand was made that the Hova flag should be withdrawn from those territories. The demand was refused, and the French Commissioner left Antananarivo. Lord Granville in 1882 protested against the assertion of French claims to the North-west coast of Madagascar, but received no immediate reply, nor was the opposition of the British Government deemed an obstacle worth taking into account, seeing that we had already tied our hands with the occupation of Egypt. It was, however, asserted by the French with some degree of truth that a certain Sakalava chief opposite Nosi Bé had concluded protectorate treaties with France in 1840 and 1843.

Another cause of complaint which France urged against Madagascar was the passing of a law in 1881 forbidding the Malagasy to sell their land to foreigners; but in 1883 this complaint was somewhat obviated by other edicts facilitating the transfer of land on perpetual leases. Nevertheless in May 1883 war broke out between France and Madagascar, and the French fleet under Admiral Pierre captured Mojanga. Subsequently Admiral Pierre steamed round the island, and anchored in the roadstead of Tamatave, where he found H.M.S. Dryad, Commander Johnstone, already watching events. The French admiral, after delivering an ultimatum, which was rejected, bombarded and occupied Tamatave, and destroyed other Hova establishments on the East coast. Mr Shaw, an English medical missionary, was established at Tamatave, and, beyond rendering medical assistance to the wounded natives, took no part in the struggle. Nevertheless, his dispensary was broken into, he was arrested, accused of poisoning French soldiers[1], and was closely confined as a

[1] Who had made themselves ill by appropriating and drinking his claret —that was all.

prisoner on the French flag-ship. The British Consul, Pakenham, who had gone down to Tamatave and was very ill, was ordered to quit the town in 24 hours, but died before this time elapsed. Anglo-French relations were severely strained by the attempt of the French to intercept Captain Johnstone's mails. When the news of French action reached England Mr Gladstone made a very serious speech in the House of Commons regarding Mr Shaw's arrest. The French Government, feeling its agents had gone too far, made a conciliatory reply. Mr Shaw was released, and given an indemnity of £1,000. In the mean time the Queen of Madagascar died, and was succeeded by another queen, Ranaválona III. Admiral Pierre also fell ill, and died just as he reached Marseilles. His successor, Admiral Galiber, did much to restore cordial relations between the British and French officials by his courteous manner. In 1884 an Englishman named Digby Willoughby, who had been a volunteer in the Zulu war, succeeded in running a cargo of arms and ammunition across to the south coast of Madagascar, and in reward for his energy was taken into the service of the Malagasy Government, made an officer in their army, and finally rose to be their Commander-in-Chief. The war dragged on through 1885, causing some dissatisfaction and lassitude in France. It is probable that the French Government would not have insisted on the protectorate but for German action on the adjoining coast of Africa, which caused the French to feel that in the African scramble they should be fairly represented. At last a treaty of peace was negotiated, and finally concluded in January, 1886. General Willoughby represented the Malagasy Government at Tamatave, and concluded a treaty in their name. This agreement gave France a virtual protectorate over Madagascar—at any rate, a control over her foreign relations—an establishment at Diego Suarez Bay, and an indemnity of £400,000.

A few months later, in June 1886, France declared her

protectorate over all the Comoro Islands, of which she had already annexed Mayotta in 1840.

In 1890, England, in return for the waiving of French opposition to a British protectorate over Zanzibar, recognized a French protectorate over Madagascar. But the Malagasy themselves had been sullenly refusing their recognition of any such protectorate and endeavouring to shake themselves free of the trammels of the 1886 Treaty. It was believed in England and in France that the conquest of Madagascar would be an extremely difficult undertaking, that the opposition of the Hovas would be a determined one, and that their warlike energy combined with the terribly unhealthy climate would make success doubtful or dearly purchased. For some nine years, therefore, the French Government put up with many a rebuff from the powerful Prime Minister of Madagascar. But at last the French were obliged either to let their protectorate become a dead letter or enforce their right to a predominant influence at the Malagasy court. Their ultimatum in 1895 was rejected. A powerful French expedition was sent —over 10,000 French soldiers, and an equal number of Senegalese. The idea of landing at Tamatave and forcing a way up to the capital through dense forests and across steep mountain terraces was wisely abandoned, and in preference the forces entered Bembatoka Bay (Mojanga), on the west coast, and were transported up the Ikopa river. From the point where its navigability came to an end they started overland for Antananarivo, which was captured after the feeblest resistance on the part of the Hovas[1].

[1] Whether the Hovas had overlooked the Mojanga route and had decided to concentrate all their resistance on the approach from Tamatave is not known; but after their repeated boasts as to the determined resistance they would make to an invader, the collapse of their defence and the feebleness of the resistance they offered to the French are matters of considerable astonishment. It must have been mainly due to the fact that the Hova rule over the bulk of the island was hated, and that the other tribes were not inclined to fight for its maintenance.

At first an attempt was made to continue the government of the Queen of Madagascar under French protection, but this only led to treachery and intrigue on the part of the Hovas. The Prime Minister was exiled, the queen was deposed. In 1896 the island was annexed to France, and became a French colony. At the same time, and by this act of annexation, the commercial treaties of other nations with Madagascar were annulled, the coasting trade was confined to vessels flying the French flag, and the fiscal policy adopted was that of the severest Protectionist type, the commerce and enterprise of other nations being practically excluded from Madagascar.

The Hova rule was bloody and barbarous, and more recent by quite a hundred years than the establishment of European influence. But it at least established freedom of religion[1], and complete freedom of commerce and enterprise for all civilized nations. By pursuing this retrograde policy in commerce and religion France has somewhat alienated the sympathy and interest with which one might otherwise have watched her determined attempts to civilize Madagascar.

[1] Since the annexation to France, and the consequent dominating influence of the Roman Catholic missionaries, many natives have been constrained to exchange their Protestant faith for Roman Catholic Christianity.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCLUSION.

We have now seen the result of these race movements during three thousand years which have caused nations superior in physical or mental development to the Negro, the Negroid, and the Hamite to move down on Africa as a field for their colonization, cultivation, and commerce. The great rush, however, has only been made within the last sixteen years. Now there remains but very little of the map of Africa which is uncoloured, that is, attributed to the independent possession of a native state. There are still some tracts, however, which are generally recognized as independent, or the overlordship of which is not universally recognized, and in the ultimate settlement of whose fate fresh developments of European energy may take place. There is Morocco on the extreme North-west of the continent, the bulk of whose trade is with England, and whose principal seaport was once in English hands: yet which has France for a chafing neighbour on the East, and Spain for an old and unforgiving enemy. There is Egypt, in the occupation and under the control of England, which is now striving with British and Egyptian soldiers to regain the lost empire of the Sudan. There is Abyssinia, which for many reasons connected with its history, its religion, and its sturdy assertion of independence deserves more than any other state of Africa to preserve that independence, provided she will abstain from offence, and recognize her true

geographical limits. There is the savage Muhammadan state of Wadai to the east of Lake Chad, and the hinterland of Turkish Tripoli. Assuming that France will occupy Baghirmi, and that Darfur will return to its former position as an Egyptian province, there is no remaining portion of Africa, other than the countries mentioned, which is not more or less assigned to definite European control. Liberia perhaps may be pointed out as a further instance of an independent native state; but the independence of Liberia is guaranteed in such terms by Great Britain and the United States as to imply a joint protectorate of those two countries over that interesting experiment in giving the American negro an opportunity of ruling and civilizing his savage brothers.

What is Europe going to do with Africa? It seems to me there are three courses to be pursued, corresponding with the three classes of territory into which Africa falls when considered geographically. There is, to begin with, that much restricted healthy area, lying outside the tropics (or in very rare cases, at great altitudes inside the tropics), where the climate is healthy and Europeans can not only support existence under much the same conditions as in their own lands and freely rear children to form in time a native European race, but where at the same time there is no dense native population to dispute by force or by an appeal to common fairness the possession of the soil. Such lands as these are of relatively small extent compared to the mass of Africa. They are confined to the districts south of the Zambezi (with the exception of the neighbourhood of the Zambezi and the eastern coast-belt); a few square miles on the mountain plateaux of North and South Nyasaland; the northern half of Tunisia, a few districts of North-east and North-west Algeria and the Cyrenaica (northern projection of Barka); perhaps also the northernmost portion of Morocco. The second category consists of countries like much of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli; Barka, Egypt, Abyssinia and parts of Somaliland;

where climatic conditions and soil are not wholly opposed[1] to the healthful settlement of Europeans, but where the competition or numerical strength or martial spirit of the natives already in possession are factors opposed to the substitution of a large European population for the present owners of the soil. The third category consists of all that is left of Africa, mainly tropical, where the climatic conditions make it impossible for Europeans to cultivate the soil with their own hands, to settle for many years, or to bring up healthy families. Countries lying under the first category I should characterize as being suitable for European colonies, a conclusion somewhat belated, since they have nearly all become such. The second description of territory I should qualify as "tributary states," countries where good and settled government cannot be maintained by the natives without the control of a European power, the European power retaining in return for the expense and trouble of such control the gratification of performing a good and interesting work, and a field of employment for a few of her choicer sons and daughters. The third category consists of "plantation colonies"—vast territories to be governed as India is governed, despotically but wisely, and with the first aim of securing good government and a reasonable degree of civilization to a large population of races inferior to the European. Here, however, the European may come in small numbers with his capital, his energy, and his knowledge to develop a most lucrative commerce, and obtain products necessary to the use of his advanced civilization.

It is possible that these distinctions may be rudely set aside by the pressure of natural laws one hundred, two hundred years hence, if the other healthy quarters of the globe become over-populated, and science is able to annul the

[1] Though in the Sahara desert and the coast region of German S. W. Africa, the great summer heat and the waterless nature of the soil are obstacles sufficient, at any rate at the present time, to render these countries uncolonizable.

unhealthy effects of a tropical climate. A rush may then be made by Europeans for settlement on the lands of tropical Africa, which in the struggle for existence may sweep away contemptuously the pre-existing rights of inferior races. But until such a contingency comes about, and whilst there is so much healthy land still unoccupied in temperate Africa, it is safer to direct our efforts along the lines laid down in these three categories I have quoted. Until Frenchmen have peopled the north of Tunis and the Aures Mountains of Algeria it would be foolish for their Government to lure French emigrants to make their homes in Senegambia or on the Congo: until Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, Bechuanaland, and Rhodesia south of the Zambezi are as thickly populated with whites as the resources of the country permit, it would be most unwise to force on the peopling by Europeans of Sokoto or British Central Africa. On the other hand, however healthy the climate of Egypt may be, it is a country for the Egyptians, and not for Englishmen, except as administrators, instructors, capitalists, or winter tourists. Since we have begun to control the political affairs of parts of West Africa and the Niger basin our trade with those countries, rendered secure, has risen from a few hundred thousand pounds a year to about £6,000,000. This is sufficient justification for our continued government of these regions and their occasional cost to us in men and money.

In the north of Africa the white Berber race will tend in course of time to weaken in its Muhammadan fanaticism, and to mingle with the European immigrants as it mingled with them in prehistoric days, when it invaded Spain and southern Europe. The Arab will gradually draw aloof, and side with those darker Berbers, who will long range the Sahara wastes unenvied, or else he will betake himself to the Sudan, and lead a life there freer from European restrictions, even though it be under a loose form of European rule. The Egyptians will probably continue to remain the Egyptians they have been for

untold centuries, no matter what waves of Syrian, Libyan, Hittite, Persian, Greek, Roman, Arab, Turkish, French or English invaders swept over the land; but they will probably come within that circle of confederated nations which will form the future British Empire—nations of every origin, colour, race, religion, united only by one supreme ruler, and the one supreme bond of peace, mutual defence, and unfettered interchanging commerce. The Negro or Negroid races of all Africa between the Sahara Desert, the Red Sea, and the Zambezi will remain Negro or Negroid, even though here and there they are lightly tinctured with European blood, and on the east are raised to a finer human type by the development of the Hamites, the interbreeding of Arabs, and the immigration of Indians. I predict a great overflow of India into those insufficiently inhabited, uncultivated parts of East Africa now ruled by England and Germany. Indians will probably make their way as traders into British Central Africa, but these territories north of the Zambezi will be governed firstly in the interests of an abundant and powerful negro population, which before many years have elapsed will be as civilized and educated as are at least a million of the negro inhabitants south of the Zambezi at the present day. South of the Zambezi great changes will take place. The black man may continue to increase and multiply and live at peace with the white man, content to perform for the latter many services which his bodily strength and indifference to health permit him to render advantageously. But as the white population increases from thousands to millions it will tend to reserve to itself all the healthy country in the extreme south of Africa and inland along the great central plateau which stretches up to the Zambezi, and the black man will be pushed by degrees into the low-lying, unhealthy coast regions of the south-east or into the rich but fever-stricken countries in the Zambezi valley, which must for an indefinite period be regarded as a Black Man's Reserve.

The European nations or national types which will predominate in the New Africa—not necessarily politically—are the British (with whom perhaps Dutch and Flemish will fuse), the French and the French-speaking Belgians, the German, the Italian, the Greek, and the Portuguese. The Spaniard may be met with on the North-west coast, but he has no future before him in that continent equal to what the Portuguese have in Angola, which will be to them a second Brazil. Italy's share of territory may be small, and Greece may have none at all, but the North, the North-east, and North-Central parts of Africa will teem with busy, thrifty, enterprising Italian and Greek settlers, colonists, merchants and employés[1].

The great languages of New Africa will be English, French, Italian, Portuguese, Arabic, Hausa, and Swahili. It is doubtful whether German will ever become implanted as an African language any more than Dutch has taken root in the Malay Archipelago. It is true that Dutch in a corrupted jargon has become a second language to the Hottentots and a few Bantu negroes. But Dutch is much simpler in construction, and easier of pronunciation to a negro than German. I have observed that in the Cameroons the Germans make use of the 'pigeon' English of the coast as a means of communication with the people when they do not speak in the easily acquired Duala tongue. In East Africa, on the other hand, they use Swahili universally, just as the Dutch use Malay throughout their Asiatic possessions. English may not become the dominant language in all countries under British influence in Africa. It will certainly become the universal tongue of Africa south of the Zambezi, and possibly, but not so certainly, in British Central Africa, where, however, it will have the influence of Swahili to contend with. In British East Africa, in Zanzibar, and in Uganda the prevailing speech will be the

[1] It is interesting to observe how under the British ægis Maltese are prospering in Egypt and on the northern and eastern coasts of Africa.

easy, simple, expressive, harmonious Swahili language, a happy compromise between the Arabic and Bantu. In Somaliland, Egypt, the Sahara, and the Sudan Arabic will be the dominating language; but Italian, French, and English will be much used in Lower Egypt. Italian, Arabic, and French will remain coequal in use in Barka, Tripoli, Tunis, and Eastern Algeria; French and Arabic (French perhaps prevailing) in Algeria; and French will make its influence felt in Morocco (though it will contend there with Arabic and Spanish), and right across the Western Sahara to Senegambia and the upper Niger. English will be, as it is now—either in jargon or correctly spoken—the language of intercommunication on the West coast of Africa from the Gambia to the Gaboon; French, Swahili and Portuguese in the Congo basin; Portuguese in Angola and in Moçambique; and Hausa in Nigeria and around Lake Chad. In Madagascar French will prevail, mingling in the Comoro Islands with Swahili.

Paganism will disappear. The continent will soon be divided between nominal Christians and nominal Muhammadans, with a strong tendency on the part of the Muhammadans towards an easy-going rationalism, such as is fast making way in Algeria, where the townspeople and the cultivators in the more settled districts, constantly coming into contact with Europeans, are becoming indifferent to the more inconvenient among their Muhammadan observances, and are content to live with little more religion than an observance of the laws, and a desire to get on well with their neighbours. Yet before Muhammadanism loses its savour there will probably be many uprisings against Christian rule among Muhammadan peoples who have been newly subjected to control. The Arab and the Hamite for religious reasons may strive again and again to shake off the Christian yoke, but I strongly doubt whether there will be any universal mutiny of the black man against the white. The negro has no idea of racial affinity. He will equally ally himself to the white or to

the yellow races in order to subdue his fellow black, or to regain his freedom from the domination of another negro tribe. There may be here and there a revolt against the white rule in such and such a state; but the diverse civilizations under which the African will be trained, and the different languages he will be taught to talk, will be sufficient to make him as dissimilar in each national development as the white man has become in Europe. And just as it would need some amazing and stupendous event to cause all Asia to rise as one man against the invasion of Europe, so it is difficult to conceive that the black man will eventually form one united negro people demanding autonomy, and putting an end to the control of the white man, and to the immigration, settlement, and intercourse of superior races from Europe and Asia.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

AFFAIRS in Africa move so quickly, such developments and changes are constantly taking place, that it is difficult for the historian to hit on any phase of seeming finality at which to pause for a retrospect. Since the bulk of this work went to press events have happened, or more detailed information has come to hand, rendering it necessary to supplement the information given in previous chapters.

As regards the French in West Africa, the following developments have occurred. The Mandingo chief, Samori, attempted to advance northwards to the central Niger as the last hope of breaking through the ring of French power with which he was being surrounded. Colonel Bonnier cut him off from that direction, however, in 1895, and Captain Marchand (of Fashoda fame) wrested from him the important town of Kong. In 1897 Samori hovered about our Ashanti boundary, and his forces attacked a small British surveying party, killed the native escort, and carried off the officer, Lieutenant Henderson. After a compulsory visit to Samori, Lieutenant Henderson was released, and the chief relieved himself from all responsibility for the wanton attack on the British party by saying, "It was the will of God."

At length, in October 1898, the French military authorities on the upper Niger made a determined attempt to finish the career of this bandit king. By a brilliant feat of arms he was brought to bay and his forces routed by Lieutenant Woelfel. Samori was taken prisoner by Lieutenant Jacquin and Serjeant Bratières, and has since been exiled to the south of Tunisia. No great independent chief now exists in the French Sudan.

As regards French Congo, M. Liotard, at one time a trader, rose gradually to be Governor of the Ubangi Province in 1896. He organized expeditions to extend French authority across the Congo watershed into the district of the Bahr-al-Ghazal. These expeditions eventually resolved themselves into one undertaking, led by Major Marchand, who advanced with a force of about 150 Senegalese and nine French officers to Fashoda, on the White Nile. Here, as already mentioned in Chapter XII, they were saved from possible destruction at the hands of a large force of Dervishes by Lord Kitchener's victory at Omdurman. In consequence of the protests of the British Government, Major Marchand was (November 1898) instructed to leave Fashoda and retire through Abyssinia to French Somaliland.

In reviewing the work of the British in West Africa (Chapter VII), a reference to the latest development of affairs in Benin was accidentally omitted. It should have been stated that in Benin, as at Opobo, troubles first began by the opposition of the chiefs on the coast-line to free intercourse with the markets of the interior. The King of Benin—a very old Negro monarchy—had for some time maintained a Viceroy of the Jekri race near the mouth of the Benin river. This man was named Nana. At first very friendly to the British, he began to turn against them when the administration of the newly formed Niger Coast Protectorate encroached on his trading interests, and himself opened hostilities by an unprovoked attack on a British gun-vessel. His town was captured and he was taken prisoner by a naval expedition.

After an interval an attempt was made, somewhat rashly, to enter into direct relations with the King of Benin, a quasi-sacred potentate, who had hitherto held much aloof from Europeans. A Deputy-Commissioner of the Protectorate, Mr Phillips, accompanied by several other officials, and by Captain Boisragon (the commandant of the local police force), attempted to visit the king against his will at Benin City, with the object of remonstrating with him against the human sacrifices, for which, like Dahome, this odious Negro monarchy was celebrated. The expedition avoided all display of force, and was practically unarmed, but it was treacherously attacked in the jungle on the way to Benin. Nearly all the native porters, and all the white officers except two were massacred. One of the officers who escaped was Captain Boisragon. These two survivors, though badly wounded, and having undergone terrible hardships in the dense bush, managed to reach the village of a friendly chief. A strong expedition, composed of a naval force and of Hausa soldiers under British officers, was despatched against Benin in 1897, and after a fiercely contested struggle through the tropical jungle, reached Benin City, which has remained ever since in the occupation of the British. The King of Benin was eventually captured and exiled to Old Calabar.

As regards Portuguese Africa, statements appeared in the British and German press in the autumn of 1898 indicating the conclusion of an Anglo-German agreement providing that, in the event of Portugal being in need of money, Germany and England were to come to her assistance, and were to receive in exchange the allotment by lease or otherwise of the Portuguese dominions in Africa. Delagoa Bay was thus to fall eventually under British sway. The particulars of this treaty will probably not be made known till the final verdict is given by the court of arbitrators, who have been sitting in Switzerland since 1891 to decide the rights and wrongs of a British and American railway company which constructed

the line of railway between Delagoa Bay and the Transvaal. This line was seized by the Portuguese Government in 1889 on the pretext that the company had broken the conditions of the concession. The question was referred in 1891 to the arbitration of a Swiss tribunal, and even after seven and a half years' deliberation the verdict is still undelivered.

APPENDIX I.

NOTABLE EVENTS AND DATES IN THE HISTORY OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

	B.C.
Foundation of the colony of Utica on the N. African (Tunisian) coast by the Phœnicians . . .	about 1100
Foundation of the colony of Carthage by the Phœnicians	about 820
Expedition of Dorians founds first Greek colony in Cyrenaica (modern Barka)	about 631
Pharaoh Necho of Egypt (son of Psammetik) sends out Phœnician Expedition from Red Sea which is said to have circumnavigated Africa in three years . .	about 600
Conquest of Egypt by the Persians under Cambyses .	about 525
Hanno the Carthaginian explores the West Coast of Africa as far south as Sierra Leone and brings back chimpanzees	about 520
Alexander of Macedonia conquers Egypt from the Persians; and founds the city of Alexandria	332
The Romans take Egypt under their protection . . .	168
The Romans definitely conquer and destroy Carthage and found the Roman province of Africa (consisting eventually of modern Tunis and part of Tripoli) . . .	146–5
Numidia (Algeria) annexed to the Roman Empire . .	46
Egypt annexed to the Roman Empire.	30
Romans invade Fezzan (Phazania)	19
	A.D.
Mauretania (Morocco) annexed to the Roman Empire .	42
North Africa torn from the Roman Empire by the Vandals	429
Recovered partially by the Byzantines	534

A.D.

The Muhammadan Invasion of Africa:

Amr-bin-al Asi conquers Egypt 640

The Arabs invade Tripoli and Tunis, defeat the patrician Gregory and partially destroy Byzantine rule 647-8

Oqba-bin-Nafa is appointed by the Khalif "governor of Ifrikiyah" (669); overruns Fezzan and South Tunis and founds there the Muhammadan capital of Kairwan 673

Oqba traverses N. Africa till he reaches the Atlantic Ocean 681

Carthage taken by the Arabs (698); Tunisia finally conquered from the Berbers (705); Morocco and Algeria conquered about 708; Spain invaded by Arabs and Berbers 711

First Islamic settlements founded on E. African coast about 720; Kilwa Sultanate founded . . . 960

Aghlabite (Berber) dynasty begins in Tunis in 800 (Morocco contemporaneously ruled by the Idrisites) and comes to an end 909

Rise of the Fatimite dynasty over Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt (909), by whom Cairo (Al Kahira) is founded 969

Great Arab invasion of North Africa (especially Tunis) about 1045

About 1050 commences the invasion of N. Africa from the Niger and the Moroccan Sahara by the Berber sect of the Mrabitin (Al-moravides), who have conquered all N. Africa and Spain by . . . 1087

Timbuktu founded by the Tawareq about . . . 1100

The Third Great Berber dynasty of the Muahadim (Al-Mohade) arises in W. Algeria about 1150, conquers Morocco, Spain and Algeria, and finally Tunis (from which the Normans are driven away) 1160

Hafs dynasty founded in Tunis 1236

King Louis IX of France ("Saint Louis") invades Egypt in 1248; is disastrously repulsed, captured and ransomed. Twenty-two years later he invades Tunis, where he dies of fever 1270

A.D.

Roman Carthage finally destroyed by the Moors, and Tunis made the capital of "Ifrikiyah" . . . . about 1271
The Portuguese take Ceuta from the Moors 1415
The river Senegal reached by Portuguese exploring vessels sent out by Prince Henry 1446
The Canary Islands, discovered by a Norman adventurer and taken possession of by Portugal, are transferred by that power to Spain 1479
River Congo discovered by the Portuguese 1485
Christianity introduced into the kingdom of Congo by the Portuguese 1491
Cape of Good Hope rounded by Vasco de Gama . . 1498
Sofala occupied and Portuguese East African Empire begun 1505
Madagascar discovered by the Portuguese 1506
The Emperor Charles V grants a charter to a Flemish merchant for the exclusive importation of negro slaves into Spanish America: Slave Trade thus definitely founded 1517
The Turks conquer Egypt 1517
Charles V intervenes in the affairs of Tunis (to restore Arab Hafside Sultan and drive out the Turkish corsair Khaïreddin Barbarossa) 1535
Charles V sustains disastrous repulse at Algiers (from which dates gradual decay of Spanish power over North Africa) 1541
First British trading ships leave London for the West African coast 1553
Sir John Hawkins conveys the first cargo of negro slaves to America under the British flag 1562
The Turks (having through corsairs founded the Regency of Algiers in 1519, that of Tripoli in 1551) once more take Tunis and make it a Turkish Pashalik . 1573
Portugal founds the colony of Angola 1574
Dom Sebastião, King of Portugal, defeated and slain at the battle of Kasr-al-Kabir, and the Portuguese Empire over Morocco thenceforth crumbles 1578
Turkey attempts to wrest from Portugal the Zanzibar Coast,

A.D.

but is utterly defeated by the Portuguese Admiral Thomé de Sousa Coutinho 1584

Abu al Abbas al Mansur, the first 'Sherifian' Emperor of Morocco, who was the victor over Dom Sebastião, sends an army across the Sahara and annexes Timbuktu and the Upper Niger to the Moorish dominions 1590

The first Dutch trading ships appear on the West African Coast 1595

The Dutch replace the Portuguese at Arguin (N. W. Coast of Africa) in 1621; and at Elmina (Gold Coast) . . 1637

French traders from Dieppe found the Fort of St Louis at the mouth of the Senegal 1637

Foundation of the French Compagnie de L'Orient for the purpose of colonising Madagascar 1642

The British East India Company takes the Island of St Helena from the Dutch 1651

The Dutch take possession of the Cape of Good Hope . 1652

A British African Company chartered by Charles II builds a fort at James Island, at the mouth of the Gambia 1662

This same Company (afterwards the Royal African Company), taking advantage of the war declared against Holland, seizes and retains several Dutch forts on the Gold Coast 1665–72

Denmark establishes forts on the Gold Coast . . about 1672

Brandenburg (Prussia) builds the Fort of Grossfriedrichsburg on the Gold Coast 1683

England, to whom Tangier had been ceded by Portugal in 1662, abandons it to the Sherifian Empire of Morocco 1684

The rising Arab power of 'Oman has driven Portugal out of all her possessions north of Moçambique by . . 1698

The present Husseinite dynasty of Beys (from 1705 to 1881 practically independent sovereigns) is founded in Tunis by a Turkish Agha—Hussein bin Ali Bey . . . 1705

Sieur André de Brüe, who went out to St Louis in 1697 as the Governor of the French Senegal Company, founds during the next 18 years the French colony of Senegal and returns to France 1715

A.D.

The French occupy the Island of Mauritius (Bourbon or "Réunion" not being occupied until 1764) . . . 1721
The Portuguese (having finally lost Mombasa in 1730) recognize the Maskat Imamate on the Zanzibar coast and decree the Bay of Lourenço Marquez on the south and Cape Delgado on the north to be the limits of their East African possessions 1752
The Portuguese lose Mazagão, their last foothold in Morocco 1769
Spain acquires Fernando Po in the Gulf of Guinea . . 1778
Sierra Leone ceded to the English by the natives . . 1787
Spain loses Oran and her last hold over Algeria . . 1791
Denmark forbids the Slave Trade to her subjects . . 1792
England first seizes the Cape of Good Hope . . . 1795
Mungo Park discovers the river Niger at Sego . . . 1796
Napoleon Buonaparte conquers Egypt, 1798; Nelson destroys French fleet at Abukir Bay same year; French evacuate Egypt 1801
England finally occupies the Cape of Good Hope . . 1805
Sierra Leone and Gambia organised as Crown Colonies . 1807
An Act of Parliament is passed abolishing the Slave Trade in the British dominions 1807
British capture from the French Seychelles (1794), Mauritius and Réunion in 1810, and Tamatave and Island of St Marie (Madagascar) in 1811
Muhammad Ali destroys the Mamluks in Egypt . . 1811
Cape Colony definitely ceded by Holland to Great Britain 1814
Island of Réunion (Bourbon) restored to France . . 1814
Holland abolishes the Slave Trade in her dominions . . 1814
France and Sweden abolish the Slave Trade . . . 1815
France reoccupies Island of St Marie de Madagascar (first taken in 1750) 1817
Invasion of the Egyptian Sudan by Muhammad Ali's forces (1820–22) and foundation of Khartūm as its capital . 1823
A British Government Expedition under Oudney, Clapperton, and Denham discovers Lake Chad . . . 1823
Governor Sir Charles Macarthy defeated and killed by the Ashanti in 1824; consequent first British war with Ashanti terminates victoriously 1827

A.D.

The Brothers Lander sent out by British Government trace the Niger from Busa to the sea and establish its outlet in the Gulf of Guinea 1830
A French Expedition conquers Algiers 1830
Portugal abolishes the Slave Trade 1830
First British steamers (Macgregor Laird's Expedition) navigate the Lower Niger (1832) and discover the Benué River 1833
Slavery abolished in all British African possessions, including Cape Colony, by 1834
First Kaffir War in South Africa. 1834
First "Trekking" of the Boers away from British rule . 1836
Boer emigrants treacherously massacred by Dingane, King of the Zulus 1837
The Sakalava of N.-West Madagascar place themselves under French protection, and France occupies the islands of Nosi Bey and Mayotta 1840
Second Niger Expedition despatched from England . . 1841
Muhammad Ali the Albanian (once a Turkish officer of Bashi-bazuks) confirmed in the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt 1841
The last of the quasi-independent Karamanli Bashas of Tripoli seizes and garrisons the important Saharan towns of Ghadames and Ghat in 1840–41; but is himself removed by the Turks, who annex definitely to the Turkish Empire Tripoli and Barka . . . 1842
Natal becomes a British Colony 1843
Gold Coast finally organised as a Crown Colony . . 1843
French war with Morocco 1844
Waghorn's Overland Route emphatically established across Egypt 1845
Independence of the Freed-Slave State of Liberia recognised 1847
Abd-al-Kader surrenders; Constantine (East Algeria) taken by the French 1847
Foundation of the French Freed-slave settlement of Libreville in the Gaboon 1848
Krapf and Rebmann discover the snowy Mountains of Kenia and Kilimanjaro 1848

A.D.

Slavery has been abolished throughout all the French possessions in Africa by 1849
Denmark cedes her Gold Coast forts to England . . 1850
Livingstone and Oswell discover the Central Zambezi . 1851
Independence of the Transvaal Republic recognized by Great Britain. 1852
Representative Government established in Cape Colony . 1853
General Faidherbe appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854; he breaks the Fula power and greatly extends the French possessions by 1856
A British Expedition is sent out in 1849 under Richardson, Oberweg, Vogel and Barth to explore North Central Africa: Oberweg navigates Lake Chad and discovers the river Shari; Barth visits the Upper Benué, Timbuktu, etc., and returns to England . . . 1855
Livingstone makes his famous journey from Cape Colony to Angola and from Angola to the Indian Ocean, exploring the Zambezi from source to mouth, and returns to England 1856
Burton and Speke discover Lake Tanganyika, and Speke discovers Victoria Nyanza 1858
Livingstone and Kirk discover Lake Nyasa 1859
Spanish War with Morocco 1859–60
Zanzibar separated as an independent State from the Imamate of 'Oman 1861
Lagos becomes a British Crown Colony 1863
Speke and Grant establish the Victoria Nyanza Lake as the main source of the Nile, visit Uganda, and follow the Nile down to Cairo 1860–64
(Sir) Samuel Baker discovers Lake Albert Nyanza . . 1864
Second Government Expedition under Dr Baikie sent out to explore rivers Niger and Benué (1854); Dr Baikie made Consul for the Niger, founds Lokoja at Niger-Benué confluence and explores Benué (1857) and greatly extends British influence; but dies in 1863; Consulate abolished 1866
Discovery of a diamond near the Orange River in Cape Colony 1867

A.D.

Lakes Mweru and Bangweolo and the Upper Luapula (Congo) R. discovered by Livingstone in 1867 and . 1868
Basutoland placed under British protection . . . 1868
British Army enters Abyssinia to release captives of King Theodore and wins victory of Magdala . . . 1868
Establishment of Triple Control over Tunisian finances . 1869
Opening of Suez Canal 1869
Sir Samuel Baker appointed Governor-General of the Egyptian Sudan 1869
Dr Schweinfürth discovers the R. Welle, the great northern affluent of the Congo 1870
Livingstone discovers the Lualaba or Upper Congo at Nyangwe; is met at Ujiji and relieved by Stanley . 1871
Insurrection against French in Eastern Algeria suppressed 1871
Responsible Government introduced into Cape Colony : 1872
Sultan of Zanzibar signs treaty forced on him by England for abolition of the Slave Trade 1873
Second Ashanti War: Sir Garnet Wolseley takes and burns Kumasi 1873–4
Dr Livingstone dies 1873
Cameron crosses Africa from Zanzibar to Benguela, mapping Tanganyika correctly for the first time . . 1873–75
Stanley circumnavigates the Victoria Nyanza and traces the river Congo from Nyangwe to the Atlantic Ocean—the greatest journey in African Exploration . 1874–77
Transvaal annexed by Great Britain 1877
The Dual Control of France and England imposed on Egyptian Government (1876); Ismail Pasha deposed . 1879
War between Great Britain and the Zulus 1879
The International Association founded by the King of the Belgians, having developed a special branch, the "Comité d'Études du Haut Congo," sends out Mr Stanley to found what becomes later on the "Congo Free State" 1879
De Brazza secures part of the Upper Congo for France . 1880
The Transvaal revolts against Great Britain and secures recognition of its independence under British suzerainty 1881

A.D.

French force enters Tunis and imposes French protection on that country 1881
French conquests reach the Upper Niger . . . 1881–82
Arabi's revolt in Egypt (1881), abolition of Dual Control, bombardment of Alexandria and defeat of Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir by Lord Wolseley; British occupation of Egypt begins 1882
Italy occupies Assab Bay on Red Sea coast and commences creation of colony of Eritrea 1882
Occupation of Obok by France 1883
The commencement of the African Scramble:—Germany establishes her protectorate over South-West Africa, and over Togoland and the Cameroons in West Africa; France occupies Grand Bassam and Porto Novo (Gold and Slave Coasts); Gordon is despatched to the Sudan (which revolted from Egypt in 1883); and the Berlin Conference on African questions is summoned 1884
Death of General Gordon at Khartūm and temporary loss of Egyptian Sudan 1885
Recognition by all the powers of Congo Free State . . 1885
Bechuana-land taken under British protection . . . 1885
Germany founds her East African possessions in the interior of the Zanzibar Sultanate 1885
Great Britain declares protectorate over Niger Coast and river Niger and grants Charter to Royal Niger Company: Joseph Thomson makes a Treaty for latter Company with the Sultan of Sokoto 1885
Portugal extends her territory to the south bank of the Congo and to Kabinda 1884–85
France concludes treaty with Madagascar which gives her predominant influence over that island (protectorate over Comoro Islands 1886) 1885
The Anglo-Egyptian forces sustain severe defeats near Suakim at the hands of the Sudanese under Osman Digna: Suakim is retained but Egyptian rule in the Nile valley is restricted to Wady Halfa. Italy occupies Masawa 1885

	A.D.
Great discoveries of reef gold in the Transvaal; founding of Johannesburg	1886
War breaks out in N. Nyasaland between British settlers and Arab slave traders	1887
In Oil rivers (Niger Delta) Jaja, King of Opobo, is arrested and banished; access to interior markets is then obtained	1887
French Senegambian possessions definitely extended to the Upper Niger	1887
Imperial British East Africa Company receives Charter	1888
Serious rebellion against the Germans breaks out in East Africa (is not finally subdued till 1890)	1888
British protectorate over N. Somaliland finally organised	1889
Italian protectorate established over East Somaliland: and treaty concluded with Menelek of Ethiopia by which Italy claimed to control foreign relations of Abyssinia	1889
Charter given to British South African Company	1889
British Central Africa declared to be under British protection: British flag hoisted on Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa	1889
In 1887 Stanley conducts an expedition by way of the Congo to relieve Emin Pasha. He discovers the Albert Edward Lake and Ruwenzori Mountain and reaches Zanzibar	1889
Anglo-German Agreement concluded relative to East Africa: Zanzibar taken under British protection; Great Britain recognizes French protectorate over Madagascar and French Sphere of Influence between Algeria, the Niger, and Lake Chad, and France recognizes the British Control over Sokoto and the Lower Niger	1890
French expeditions reach the river Shari from the Congo Basin and secure that river to French influence	1890–91
Captain (now Colonel) Lugard establishes British predominance over Uganda	1891
Natal receives responsible government	1893
France conquers and annexes Dahome	1893

	A.D.
First Matabele war: death of Lobengula: Buluwayo becomes the capital of Rhodesia	1893
French occupy Timbuktu	1894
Uganda declared a British protectorate: Charter of British East Africa Company withdrawn and British East Africa henceforth administered under British Commissioner	1894–5
Arabs defeated and driven out of British Central African protectorate	1895
Major Mouzinho de Albuquerque captures the Zulu king Gungunyana and firmly establishes Portuguese dominion in South-East Africa	1895
France conquers and annexes Madagascar	1894–96
Jameson raid into Transvaal: Matabele revolt and second Matabele war	1896
Italy sustains terrible defeat in North Abyssinia. Her protectorate over Abyssinia withdrawn and that country's independence recognized	1896
Anglo-Egyptian army reconquers Dongola	1896
Conquest of Nupe by the Royal Niger Company	1897
Zululand incorporated with Natal	1897
Railway completed to Buluwayo	1897
Revolt of Sudanese soldiers temporarily imperils British position in Uganda	1897–98
Anglo-French agreement signed with regard to Niger	1898
Anglo-German agreement relative to Delagoa Bay and other Portuguese possessions in Africa signed in	1898
Railway opened from Lower Congo to Stanley pool	1898
Khartūm captured by Sir H. (now Lord) Kitchener and Anglo-Egyptian influence established over the Sudan.	1898
Major Marchand, who is sent to Fashoda by French Government, is withdrawn thence on British protests	1898

APPENDIX II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE HISTORY OF COLONIZATION OF AFRICA. BOOKS SPECIALLY USEFUL.

ALL BLUE BOOKS published by Foreign Office and Colonial Office DEALING WITH AFRICA and the SLAVE TRADE from 1830 to the present day—especially for the years between 1876 and 1898.

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA; by (Dr) J. Scott Keltie. 2nd Edition. Edward Stanford. 1895.

THE STORY OF AFRICA; by Dr Robert Brown. 4 vols. Cassell and Company. 1894–5. (A most valuable book of reference.)

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES. Vol. IV. Parts 1 & 2 (dealing with South and East Africa); by C. P. Lucas, B.A. Clarendon Press. 1897.

Do. Do. Vol. III. WEST AFRICA. Clarendon Press. 1894.

HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA; by G. McCall Theal. 5 vols. Juta & Co., Cape Town. 1888–93.

HISTOIRE DE L'AFRIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE (Berberie); par Ernest Mercier. 3 vols. Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1891. (An excellent and trustworthy compilation.)

HISTOIRE DE L'ÉTABLISSEMENT DES ARABES DANS L'AFRIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE selon les auteurs Arabes. By the same author. 1 vol. Paris: Challamel. 1875.

HISTORIA DA AFRICA ORIENTAL PORTUGUEZA; por José Joaquim Lopes de Lima. Lisbon. 1862.

HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF CONGO; by Duarte Lopes—rendered into Italian by Filippo Pigafetta. English translation: John Murray. 1881.

ANGOLA AND THE RIVER CONGO; by J. J. Monteiro. 2 vols. Macmillan & Co. 1875.

THE LANDS OF CAZEMBE (Lacerda's journey to Cazembe in 1798); a compilation by Captain R. F. Burton. Royal Geographical Society. 1873.

THE MAPS OF AFRICA BY TREATY; by Sir Edward Hertslet, K.C.B. 2 vols. Harrison & Sons. 1894–5.

A HISTORY OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY; by (Sir) E. H. Bunbury. 2 vols. 2nd edition. John Murray. 1883.

COLONIAL OFFICE LIST; by W. H. Mercer and A. E. Collins. Harrison & Sons. 1898.

DOCUMENTS SUR L'HISTOIRE, ETC., DE L'AFRIQUE ORIENTALE; par le Capitaine M. Guillain. 3 vols. Paris. 1856.

LIFE OF PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR; by R. H. Major. Sampson Low. 1876.

PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR; by Beazley. Putnam. 1895.

EGYPT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY; by D. A. Cameron. Smith, Elder & Co. 1898.

ENGLAND IN EGYPT; by Sir Alfred Milner, K.C.B. Arnold. 1892.

THE BARBARY CORSAIRS (Story of the Nations); by Stanley Lane Poole. T. Fisher Unwin. 1890.

THE LIFE OF LIVINGSTONE; by H. H. Johnston, C.B. George Philip. 1891.

DU NIGER AU GOLFE DE GUINÉE; par le Capitaine Binger. Paris. 1892.

MUNGO PARK AND THE NIGER; by Joseph Thomson. George Philips. 1890.

HOW I FOUND LIVINGSTONE. THROUGH THE DARK CONTINENT. 2 vols. THE CONGO: AND THE FOUNDING OF ITS FREE STATE. 2 vols. IN DARKEST AFRICA. 2 vols. By H. M. Stanley. (Most important.) Sampson Low.

THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK; by Dr J. Scott Keltie. Macmillan.

TIMBUCTOO THE MYSTERIOUS; by Félix Dubois. William Heinemann. 1897.

THE FALL OF THE CONGO ARABS; by Captain S. L. Hinde. Methuen. 1897.

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA; by Sir H. H. Johnston, K.C.B. Methuen. 1897.

THE RISE OF OUR EAST AFRICAN EMPIRE; by Captain F. D. Lugard, D.S.O. 2 vols. Blackwood, Edinburgh. 1893.
BRITISH EAST AFRICA; By P. McDermott. Chapman & Hall. 1895.
ENGLISH MISSION TO ABYSSINIA; by (Sir) Gerald H. Portal. Winchester (privately printed). 1888.
TRAVELS OF THE JESUITS IN ETHIOPIA; by B. Tellez. London. 1710.
SAVAGE AFRICA; by Winwood Reade. Smith & Elder. 1864.
AFRICAN SKETCH-BOOK; same author and publishers. 1873.
MARTYRDOM OF MAN; same author. Kegan Paul. (Ed. 13) 1890.
ADVENTURES IN NYASSALAND; by Low Monteith Fotheringham. Sampson Low. 1891.
UGANDA AND THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN; by Dr R. W. Felkin and C. T. Wilson. 2 vols. Sampson Low. 1882.
THE HEART OF AFRICA; by Dr Georg Schweinfürth. Sampson Low. 1873.
TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES IN NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA; by Dr Henry Barth. 5 vols. Longman, Brown, Green. 1857.
FIRE AND SWORD IN THE SUDAN; by Slatin Pasha. Edward Arnold. 1896.
HAUSALAND; by Rev. Charles Henry Robinson. Sampson Low. 1897.
À TRAVERS L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE: DU CONGO AU NIGER; by C. Maistre. Paris. 1895.
THE EARLY CHARTERED COMPANIES; by George Cawston and A. H. Keane. Edward Arnold. 1896.
MADAGASCAR; by Captain S. Pasfield Oliver. 2 vols. Macmillan. 1886.
IMPRESSIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA; by Rt Hon. James Bryce, M.P. Macmillan. 1898.

INDEX.

Abbadie, d', 208
Abd-al-Kader, 135
Abd-al-Mumin, 19
Abreu, Gomez d', 262
Abyssinia, 2, 3, 32, 148, 149, 159, 193, 195, 208, 210, 219, 236, 245 *et seq.*, 277, 278
Abyssinian explorers, 208
Accra, 109, 110
Açores Islands, 39
Acunha, Tristaõ d' (conquistador), 31
— — Island, 45, 173
Aden, 145, 237
Adis Abeba, 247
Adrār, 212
Adũa, 247
Aepyornis, 262
"Africa" (the Roman province of), 11
Africa, direction from which man first invaded, 1; ethnology of, 2; distribution of native population 3000 years ago, 3; origin of name of, 11; owes its principal food products to Arabs and Portuguese, 38, 39; "New Africa," 282
African Association, 196, 197, 209
— Lakes Company, 153, 181, 187
Aghlab, Aghlabite dynasty, 16
Ahmadu, the Fula King, 127, 128
Albert Nyanza, *see* Nyanza
Alexander the Great, 10
Alexander, Sir J. E., 199
Alexandria, 10, 133, 191, 231, 233, 245
Algarve, 27
Algeria, 20, 24, 134 *et seq.*, 138, 212, 278
Algiers, 61 *et seq.*, 134, 144
Almeida, Francisco de, 262
Almoravide, Almohade, *see* Marabut and Muahedim
Alsace-Lorraine settlers in Algeria, 137
Alula, Ras, 246
Amalfi, 243
Amaro, José, 199
Amatongaland, 184, 186
Ambas Bay, 115, 158
Ambriz, 42
America, 96, 150
American Missionaries, 156, 159
— slave-trade, 93
Amhara, 246
Amr-bin-al Aṣi (conqueror of Egypt), 14
Andersson, 208, 218
Anglo-German Convention of 1890, 257; of 1898, 287
Angoche, 59
Angola, 35 *et seq.*, 42, 43, 150, 156, 193, 209, 216, 218, 282
Angra, Pequena, 45, 252
Anhaya, Pedro de, 31
Anno Bom Island, 64
Antananarivo, 270, 271, 273, 275
Antonelli, 219
Arābi, Ahmed, 231, 232
Arabia, 1, 17, 217, 237

Arabic language, 17, 138, 283
Arabs, 13; (invade Egypt and Tripoli and Tunis), 14; (reach Atlantic Ocean and conquer Morocco and Spain), 15, 16; (great invasion of North Africa), 17; (settle on East coast of Africa), 24, 25; (their rule superseded in N. Africa by Turks), 24; Arab influence and civilisation in Muhammadan Africa, 25, 26; introduce various domestic animals and food products into Africa, 39; Arabs and Portuguese, 45, 46; Arabs on Zambezi, 47; regain Zanzibar coast, 50, 237; as Slave Traders, 95, 100; of Algeria find a leader in Abd-al-Kader, 135; in Nyasaland, 182; on the Congo, 226; at Zanzibar, 242; and Germans, 257; and Madagascar, 261 *et seq.*; future of Arabs in Africa, 280
Archinard, Col., 128, 130
Arguin, 30, 66, 125, 249
Arnot, F. S., 220
Ascension Island, 45
Ashanti, 109 *et seq.*
Asia, the mother of man, 1; furnishes many domestic animals and plants to Africa, 39; without race feeling against Europe, 284
Asmara, 246
Assab Bay, 242, 243
Atlantic Ocean reached by Arabs, 15
Atlas Mountains, 136, 221
"Atrocities," 227, 258
Aures Mountains, 280
Austrian attempt on Delagoa Bay, 56
— Catholic Mission on Nile, 210
Author. His experience of slave traffic, 95; administers Ambas Bay, 115; removes Jaja, 116; administers British Central Africa, 182, 187; with Dr Cross discovers south end of Lake Rukwa, 219; other African explorations, 220; and Kilimanjaro, 238, 255; and "Cape to Cairo," 242
Bab-el-Mandeb, Straits of, 243
Baboons, 10
Badagri, 203
Bagirmi, 144, 214, 278
Bahr-al-Ghazal, 144, 210, 215, 216, 228, 286
Baikie, Dr, 117
Baines, William, 218
Baker, Sir Samuel and Lady, 207, 210, 211, 214, 217
Bamaku, 127, 197
Bambuk, 125, 196
Banana (tree), 40
Bangweolo, Lake, 212, 220, 222
Banks, Sir Joseph, 196
Bantu Border-line, 144, 221
— negroes, 3, 65, 76, 77, 161, 259
— — migrations of, 4, 76, 161
Baptist Mission (Cameroons and Congo), 115
Baptista, 199
Baratieri, General, 247
Barbarossas, the, 61
Barbary States, 61, 104; *see also* Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli
Bari people, 151, 217
Baringo, Lake, 221, 223
Barka, 8, 15, 206, 278
Barreto, Francisco, 47, 193
Barth, Dr Henry, 206, 207
Barutse, 154, 182, 216
"Bastards," the, 82
Bastian, Dr, 213
Basuto, Basutoland, 85, 155, 169
Bathurst, 105
Batoka country, 147, 152
Battel, Andrew, 193, 194
Baumann, Dr, 222
Beaufort, de, 201
Bechuana, Bechuanaland, 85, 87, 154, 161, 186, 259, 280
Beecroft, Mr, 205
Behauzin, 130
Beira, 46, 59, 60, 188
Beke, C. T., 208
Belgian Africa, 225 *et seq.*
Belgians, King of the, 143–4, 218, 219, 225 *et seq.*, 250
Belgium, Belgians, 100, 218, 219, 227
Beltrama, Giovanni, 210

Bembatoka Bay, 266
Benguela, 42, 193, 213
Benin, 103, 113, 116, 118, 286, 287
Bentley, Reverend H., 158
Benue, R., 115, 117, 119, 204
Benyowski, 264
Berber states and dynasties, 24
Berbers, 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 19, 33, 136, 280
Berlin Conference, 143, 227
Beurmann, M. v., 214
Bey of Constantine, 136
Beys of Tunis, 139
Bights of Biafra and Benin, 114, 203, 205
Binger, Captain, 128, 129, 222
Bisandugu, 128
Bishops (Christian), *see* Christian; Negro do., 33, 34, 149
Bizerta (Hippo-Zaryt), 5
"Black Africa," 280, 281
"Black, White, and Yellow," 177
Blanco, Cape, 29, 64, 105, 125, 249
Blantyre, 156
Bloemfontein Convention, 84
Bocarro, Jasper, 193
Boer victories, 86
Boers, the, 43, 81 *et seq.*, 163; (in Natal), 166, 167
Böhm, 218
Boisragon, Capt., 287
Boiteux, Lieut., 131
Bojador, Cape, 29, 64
Boma, 229
Bona, Bône, 61, 137, 243
Bonnier, Col., 131, 285
Bonny, R., 118
Borelli, H., 223
Borgu (Nikki), 132
Bornu, 12, 24, 201, 206, 213, 214
Bottego, 223
Bourbon, Island of, 264, 266
Brandenburg in Africa, 249
— Great Elector of, 249
Brass, R., 118, 204
Bratières, Serg., 286
Brava (Barawa), 46
Brazil, Brazilians, 39, 43, 50, 193, 282
Brazza, De, 143, 219, 225
Bricchetti-Robecchi, 223
British Element in Cape Colony, 162
— Empire of the Future, 281
— Central Africa, 99, 100, 156, 158, 182, 183, 280, 281
— East Africa, 95, 239 *et seq.*, 242
— — Company, 239, 242
— Government, the, 53; takes over Dutch Gold Coast, 67; covets the Cape of Good Hope, 75; takes this colony finally in 1806, 79; shilly-shallies about South African questions, 83, 84; pays an indemnity to Orange Free State, 85; annexes Transvaal, 86; restores its independence, 87; spends millions of pounds in abolishing slavery, 97; and establishes squadrons of slave-trade preventive ships, 98, 100; administers Fernando Po, 114; sends expeditions to Niger, 116, 117; to Western Sudan and Tripoli, 121; holds Senegal for a time, 125; attitude in Tunis, 140; acquires Cape Colony, 160; reluctantly makes Natal a British Colony, 167–8; tries to send convicts to the Cape, 169; annexes the Transvaal, 184; sends Mungo Park back to the Niger, 197; and various expeditions thither from Tripoli (201, 202), and finally sends Lander to discover its mouth, 203; despatches Richardson, Barth and others to explore the Central Sudan, 205, 206; sends surveying expedition up Niger (1841), 205; commissions Livingstone to explore Zambezia, 211; occupies Egypt, 232 *et seq.*; Zanzibar coast, 237 *et seq.*
— South Africa, 160 *et seq.* (area, 161)
— South Africa Chartered Co., 59, 89, 182
Brown, Dr Robert, 93, 125
Browne, William G., 195

Bruce, James, 195
Brüe, 124, 194
Bu Amama, 138
Bugeaud, Marshal, 135
Bugia, 61
"Bula Matadi," 34
Buluwayo, 177, 188
Bunbury, Sir E. H., 8
Bunyoro, 211, 241
Burchell, Dr William, 199
Burton, Sir Richard F., 207, 209, 215
Busa, 116, 119, 198, 203
Bushiri, 257
Bushmen, 2, 4, 5, 68, 161
Buxton, Sir Thomas Fowell, 205
Byzantium, Byzantine Greeks, 10, 12, 13, 14, 92

Caillié, René, 126, 201
Cairo, 16, 233
Calabar, *see* Old
Cam, Diogo, 30, 33
Cambon, M., 141
Cambyses, 10, 190
Camel, the, 39, 48, 243
Cameron, Capt. V. L., 213, 216, 218
Cameroons, 113, 115, 156, 158, 215, 222, 254, 258
Campagnon, 124, 194
Campbell (Scotch missionary explorer), 199
Canada, 107
Canary Islands, 33, 63, 121
Candido de Costa Cardoso, 199
Cannibalism, 227
Cape of Good Hope, 30, 46, 67
— Colony, 68, 74, 75, 82, 108, 161, 170, 251, 280
— Dutch, 89
— Town, 72, 76
— Verde, 29, 127
— — Islands, 39, 45, 75
"Cape to Cairo," 183, 242
Capello, Brito, 216
Carnarvon, Lord, 183, 184
Carthage, 4, 5, 11, 15, 20
Carthaginians, 8
Casamanse, River, 127
Cat, the domestic, 39
Cathcart, General, 168
Cattle, 161
Cavendish, Mr H., 223
Cerne, *see* Kerne
Cetewayo, 185
Ceuta, 15, 21, 22, 28, 63
Chad, Lake, 17, 115, 119, 121, 127, 142, 192, 202, 206, 214
Chafarinas Islands, 63
Chaillé-Long, Col., 217
Chaillu, Paul du, 142, 215
Chaka, 83, 166, 184
Chanler, W. Astor, 223
Charles II of England, 109, 195
— V of Spain, 62, 93
— X of France, 134, 266
Chartered companies, 104
Chatelain, Rev. Heli, 156
Chelmsford, Lord, 185
Chimpanzee, the, 7
Chinde, R., 59
Chobe, R., 259
Christian Bishops in Tunisia, 20; in Central Africa, 33, 218, 240; Madagascar, 153, 268
Christian Missions in Africa, list of:
American Presbyterian Mission, 155, 156
Austrian Catholic Mission (Sudan), 150, 210
Baptist (American) Gaboon Mission, 156
— (English) Cameroons and Congo Mission, 157, 158
— (Scotch) Nyasaland Mission, 158
Basel Mission, 154
Bavarian (Roman Catholic) Mission, 154
Berlin Missionary Society, 154
Church Missionary Society, 149, 207, 218, 240
Edinburgh Missionary Society, 148
Episcopal Methodist (American) Mission, 156
Established Church of Scotland Mission, 155, 156
Free Church Mission (Scotch), 155, 156

Christian Missions (*cont.*):
Free Swiss Church Mission, 155
French Evangelical Missionary Society, 154, 155
Glasgow Missionary Society, 148
Jesuit missions (Zambezi), 152; (Madagascar), 152
London Missionary Society, 148, 153, 267
Moravian Protestant Mission, 154
North African Mission, 158
North German (Bremen) Mission, 152
Norwegian Mission, 156
Plymouth Brethren, 158
Rhenish Missionary Society, 154
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 150
Society of Friends' (Quaker) Mission, 153
Swedish Protestant Mission, 155
United Presbyterian Mission, 155
Universities' Mission, 157, 181
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 150
White Fathers of the Sudan Mission, 151; (in Uganda), 239
Zambezi Industrial Mission, 159
Christianity (in Congo Kingdom), 33, 146, 147; among negro races in general, 147, 283
Christians in North Africa, 20; Madagascar, Uganda, 239, 240
Cinchona tree (Quinine), 43
Clapperton, Hugh, 202, 203
Clarke, John (missionary), 158
Clarke, Sir Marshall, 186
Clarkson, 94
Cocoa-nut palm, 40, 55
Coffee and coffee cultivation, 40, 43, 55, 175, 183
Coillard, Rev. Mr, 155, 216
Colonies, French, in Africa, their lack of self-support, 145
— three classes of, in Africa, 278, 279
Colston, Col., 217
Comber, Rev. Thos., 158
"Comité d'Etudes du Haut Congo," 225
Commerson, Philibert, 264
Comoro Islands, 4, 11, 25, 265, 269, 275
Compiègne, Marquis de, 215
Conference, Berlin, 117
— Brussels, 218
Congo Christianity, 33 *et seq.*, 147
— Free State, 100, 143, 219, 225, 226 *et seq.*, 249, 250
— Kingdom, 33, 34, 147; Royal family of, 34, 35
— river and basin, 3, 4, 30, 94, 100, 117, 156, 158, 200, 213, 219, 226, 280
— Treaty of 1884, 36, 44, 181, 226
— French, *see* French Congo
"Conquistadores," Portuguese, 38
Constantine, 136
Constitution granted to Cape Colony, 163
Conventions, *see* under title of nationality or place
Convicts sent to Cape, 169
Coolies, 176, 189
Coomassie, *see* Kumasi
Copper, 55, 251
Corisco Bay, 64
Corsairs, *see* Pirates
Cossack "Monks," 247
Covilhaõ, Pero de, 31, 32, 193, 262
Craig, General, 79
Crampel, Paul, 144
Crimean War, 170, 171, 232
Cromer, Lord, 233
Cross, Dr, 219, 220
— River, 205
Crowther, Samuel (Bishop), 149
Cyrene, Cyrenaïca, 8, 10, 11, 191, 206, 208

Dahome, 44, 109, 112, 129, 130, 215
Daily Telegraph, the, 216
Damaraland, 154, 179, 206, 251
Danakil coast, 245
Danes, *see* Denmark

Darfur, 24, 195, 213, 214, 217, 218, 278
Date, the, 9
Dauphin, Fort, 263, 264
Davidson, John, 205
De Beers Diamond-mining Company, 187
Debono, Andrea, 210
Decken, Baron von der, 220, 250
Decle, Lionel, 222
Delagoa Bay, 51, 56 *et seq.*, 75, 178, 200, 287
Delgado, Cape, 51, 55, 58, 255
Denham, Major D., 202
Denhardt Brothers, 255
Denmark abolishes slave-trade, 96; withdraws from Gold Coast, 110
Desbordes, Col., 127
Dey of Algiers, 134
Dhanis, Baron, 227, 228
Diamonds, Diamond Fields, 85, 173, 177, 178, 186
Diaz, Bartolomeu, 30, 68
— Paulo, 37
Dickens and "Mrs Jellyby," 205
Diego Suarez Bay, 267, 268, 274
Dieppe adventurers, 122, 123
Dingane, 185
Dingiswayo, 83
Dinizulu, 186
Dochard, Dr, 198
Dodds, General, 130
Dog, the, 39
Domestic animals and plants of Africa, 39, 40
Donaldson Smith, Dr, 223
"Downing Street" doubts, drifts, and dallies, 84, 112, 179, 180
Draa, River, 7, 121, 192, 196
Drummond Hay, Sir John, 121
Dual Control, the, 232, 233
Duala people, 158
Duck, the, 39
Durban, 83, 167
D'Urban, Sir Benjamin, 164 *et seq.*
Dutch, the, 41, 42, 45, 51, 55; on the Gold Coast, 66, 67, 110; take St Helena and found Cape Colony, 67, 68 *et seq.*; lose Cape Colony, 1806, 79; cede it to England, 80; Dutch Africa still existing, 80; affinity between Dutch and Scotch, 81; in the Transvaal, 88; kinship in blood with English, 90, 125; dispute St Helena with English, 172
Dutch half-castes, 67
— language, 282
Duveyrier, 212
Dybowski, M., 144, 222

East Africa, *see* British, German, etc.
East India Company, British, 237
— — Dutch, 68 *et seq.*, 70, 77, 160
— — Austrian, 56
— — French, 263, 264
Eastern Province of Cape Colony, 166, 172, 177
Egypt, 2, 9, 10, 17, 49, 121, 133, 134, 231 *et seq.*, 235, 277, 278, 280
Egyptian Government, 211, 217, 235
Egyptians, Ancient, 2, 191, 281
— Modern, 281
Elephant, African, 6, 8, 55
Elizabeth, Queen, 105, 106
Ellis, Mr (of Madagascar), 270, 271
Elmina, 30, 66
Elphinstone, Admiral, 79
Elton, Captain Fred., 217
Emden, 249
Emin Pasha, 220, 221, 241
England and the Slave Trade, 146
— Missionary efforts, 146
English introduce domestic animals and plants into Africa, 40; in the Transvaal, 88; follow Portuguese lead in the West African trade, 103
— language, 158, 163, 282, 283
Ericsson, 218
Eritrea (Italy's Red Sea Colony), 145, 247
Ethiopia, 191
Euan-Smith, Sir Charles, 256
Eunuchs, Negro, 92, 95
European population of Cape Colony in 1806, 161

European population of Cape Colony in 1850, 169
Exeter Hall, 82
Explorers, Great, 190 *et seq.*
— thirteen greatest, list of, 207
— Africa will recognize the debt she owes to, 224

Faidherbe, General, 126, 141
Farewell and King, Lieuts., 166
Farquhar, Sir Robert, 188, 267
Fashoda, 235, 286
Fatimite Khalifs, 16
Federation of South Africa, 183
Felkin, Dr R. W., 218
Fernandez, Joaõ, 193
Fernando Po, Island, 64, 65, 114, 150, 158, 202, 204, 222
Fezzan (Phazania), 11, 14, 24, 196, 201, 213, 214
Flanders in Africa, 56, 230
Flatters, Col., 141
Flegel, Herr, 118
Flemish Colonists, 38
Foreign Office, 116, 239, 251, 255
Foule Point, 264, 268
France and Abyssinia, 247
Frederick William I, 249
French Congo, 106, 142, 219
— Government, the (France), 55; (West African boundaries in dispute with Spain), 64, 65; at Mauritius, 69; abolishes slave trade, 98; contend with English on the Gambia, 105; establish Protectorate over Porto Novo and Dahome, 112, 113; a French Company established on Lower Niger, 117; disputes as to Nigerian boundaries finally settled with England, 119; French in N. and W. Africa, 122 *et seq.*; reach the Niger, 127; occupy Timbuktu, 131; conquers Algiers, 134; its treatment of Abd-al-Kader, 135; France and Egypt, 134, 232; France and Tunis, 139–141; in Gaboon, 142; on Congo, 142–144; right of preemption over Congo Free State, 144; in Somaliland, 145, 236; in Madagascar, 259 *et seq.*
French language, 282, 283
— Revolution and its effects on Dutch settlers in Cape Colony, 78
— Revolution and Egypt, 133
— settlers in Dutch South Africa, 71, 72, 88
— settlers in Algeria, 137
Frere, Sir Bartle, 184, 237, 251
Frey, Col., 127
Froude, Mr, 183
Fula race and Empire, 118, 120, 126, 127, 128, 203
Futa Toro, Futa-Jalon, 128

Gaboon, 45, 142, 143, 156
Galiber, Admiral, 274
Gallas, Gallaland, 151, 155, 248
Galliéne, Col., 127
Galton, Mr Francis, 208
Gambetta, 117, 232
Gambia, R., 29, 104 *et seq.*, 108, 124, 194, 196 *et seq.*
Gamitto, 199
Gardener, Capt. Allen, 167
Genoa, 243
Gentil, M., 144
German Government, 114, 115, 119, 158, 179, 180, 213, 214, 249 *et seq.*
— East Africa, 157, 255 *et seq.*
— South-West Africa, 180, 251, 259, 279
— missionaries, 154, 251, 259
Germans, 55, 100, 118, 119, 171, 175, 215, 249 *et seq.*
Gessi Pasha, 211, 217
Ghadames, 200, 213
Gibraltar, 16
Ginga Bandi, Queen, 41
Ginger, 39, 40
Giraffe, the, 73, 198
Giraud, Lieut., 220
Gladstone, Mr, 185, 242, 274
Glenelg, Lord, 165, 167
Glover, Sir John, 111
Goa, 49, 50; Goanese, 55, 176, 199
Goetzen, Count, 223
Gold, 30, 47, 49, 88

Gold Coast, 30, 66 *et seq.*, 104, 108, 109 *et seq.*, 122, 129, 254
Goldie, Taubman, Sir George, 117, 118, 120, 132
Goldsmid, Sir Frederick, 226
Golea, 141
Goletta, 21, 61, 62, 63, 140
Gonçalo de Silveira, 48, 148
Gondokoro, 210, 211
Gordon, General, 217, 233
— Capt. R. J., 198
Goree, 66, 125, 197
Gorilla, the, 7, 65, 142, 215
Graaf Reinet, 74
Grand Bassam, 106, 129
Grandy, Lieut., 212
Grant, Col. J. A., 207, 209
Granville Sharp, 94, 107
Granville, Lord, 181, 251, 252, 273
Great Fish River, 74, 161, 162
Greece, 8
Greeks, 8 *et seq.*, 191
Gregory, Dr J. W., 223
— the Patrician, 14
Grenfell, Rev. Mr, 143, 158, 215, 219
Grey, Sir George, 84, 170, 171, 183
Grikwaland East, 168
Grikwas, Grikwaland, 85, 173, 174
Grossfriederichsburg, 249
Ground-rents (*Arachis*) 55
Guardafui, Cape, 248
Gungunyama, 59

Hadj 'Omar, El, 126
Hafs dynasty of Tunis, 20, 62
Hamadi dynasty of Tunis, 20
Hamilton, Mr James, 208
Hamite race, 2, 281
Hannibal, 6
Hannington, Bishop, 239
Hanno's voyage, 6, 7, 107, 190
Hanse towns (Hamburgh), 206, 250
Harrar, 223, 236
Harris, Sir W. C., 199, 208
Hassan-bin-Numan, 15
Hausa, the, 111, 120, 226; land, 24, 99, 120, 198, 202, 206; language, 282, 283
Hawkins, Sir John, 93
Hecataeus, 10
Helena, St, Id. of, 33, 39, 45, 67, 69, 172, 173, 186
Henderson, Lieut., 285
Hennessy, Sir J. Pope, 188
Henry the Navigator, Prince, 21, 28, 29, 103
Herero, Ova-, the, 161, 259
Herodotus, 9, 10, 191
Heuglin, 211
Hewett, Mr E. H., 114, 115, 253, 254
Hicks Pasha, 233
High Commissioner of South Africa, 89, 174
Hinde, Capt. S. L., 227
Hintsa, Chief, 165
Hippo, 5
Hippopotamus, 47
Holland, *see* Dutch; also 167
Holub, Dr, 220
Hornemann, Fred., 196
Horse, the, 39
Hottentots, 2, 5, 43, 68 *et seq.*, 79, 82, 161, 163, 252, 259
Houghton, Major, 196
Hourst, Lieut., 132
Hovas, the, 12, 153, 265, 266 *et seq.*
Huguenots, 72, 148
Hühnel, Lieut., 221
Husseinite Beys of Tunis, 139
Hutton, Mr James, 255

Iberian race, 2
Ibn Batuta, 192
Ibn Haukal, 192
Ibn Tumest, 19
Ibn Yasin, 19
Ibo, 55
Ibos, the, 204
Idris, 16
Idris or Edrisi (geographer), 192
Ikopa, R. (Madagascar), 275
Ilo, 132
Imam of Maskat, 25, 50
India, 1, 31, 39, 49, 92, 231, 233, 235, 279

Indians in Africa, 50; in Natal, 176, 177; Mauritius, 189, 262, 281
Inhambane, 59
Irish settlers, 162, 229
— missionaries, 152, 241
Islam (Muhammadanism), 13, 16, 24, 147, 283
Islands in Indian Ocean belonging to British, 189
Italian language, 282
Italians, Italy, 18, 137, 139, 140, 151, 211, 213, 243 *et seq.*
Ivens, Roberto, 216
Ivory, 55
— Coast, 128, 129, 130

Jacquin, Capt., 286
Jagga, the, 35, 193
Jaja, King, 116
Jamaica, 93, 97, 107
James Bros. (explorers), 223
Jameson, Dr, 89, 188
Jannequin de Rochefort, 123, 194
Janssens, Governor, 79, 161
Jean René, 268
Jenne, 130, 193
Jerba, Id. of, 9, 14, 21, 62, 63
Jesuits, 32, 36, 48, 147, 152, 193, 271
Jews, the, 16, 88, 137, 178, 207
Jobson, Richard, 194
Johannesburg, 88, 89
John, of Abyssinia, King, 246, 247
Johnston, H. H., *see* Author
— Keith, 219
Johnstone, Commodore, 75; Johnstone, Commander, 273, 274
Jouffre, Col., 131
Jub, River, 248, 250
Juby, Cape, 64, 121
Judaism amongst Berbers, 8
Jühlke, Dr, 254
Julian, Count, 15
Jünker, Dr Wilhelm, 207, 221

Kaarta, 126, 128, 201
Kabara, 128
Kabinda, 44
Kaffirs, 72, 76, 161, 163, 165, 168, 171, 172
Kaffir Wars, 77, 162, 163, 165, 168, 172, 177
Kaffraria, 150, 165, 171, 172
Kafue, R., 52, 220
Kahina, Queen Dihia-al-, 15
Kairwan, 14
Kano, 202, 214
Kanuri people and language (Borun), 120
Kasai, R., 42, 219
Kasalā, 247
Kasr-al-Kabir (Morocco), battle of, 21, 28
Kasr-es-Said, treaty of, 140
Katanga, 220, 228
Kei, R., 77, 165, 168
Keiskamma, R., 163, 165
Kenia, Mt., 208, 220, 223
Keren, 246
Kerne, 7
Kersten, Otto, 250
Khaireddin Barbarossa, 61, 62
Khalifat, the (Egyptian Sudan), 234
Khalifs of Bagdad, 16
Khartūm, 210, 215, 233, 234, 241
Khareji, sect of Islam, 14
Khedive of Egypt, 233, 235
Khojas (Indians), 176
Kiezelbach, 211
Kilimanjaro, 208, 220, 233, 239, 255
Kilwa (East Africa), 24, 31, 49
Kimberley, 173, 177
Kimberley, Lord, 179
Kirk, Sir John, 121, 211, 237, 238 *et seq.*
Kitchener, Lord, 234, 286, and prefatory note
Kivu, Lake, 223
Knoblecher, Dr, 210
Koelle, Rev. S. W., 99, 150
Komadugu, R., 206
Kordofan, 24, 214
Kosa Kaffirs, their terrible delusion, 171
Krapf, Dr, 149, 207
Kruboys, 108, 130
Kufra, 213
Kukawa, 206

Kumasi, 110, 111
Kund, Lieut., 222
Kunene, R., 43, 220
Kuseila, the Berber prince, 15
Kwango, R., 42, 199, 216
Kwanza, R., 38, 41, 43

Laborde, M., 268, 271, 272
La Calle, 133
"La Case," 263
Lacerda e Almeida, Dr F. J. M. de, 52, 199
Lado, 229
Lagos, 108, 111 *et seq.*, 202, 213
Laing, Major, 200
Lambert, Capt., 123
— M., 270, 271
Lamta, Lemtuna, 19
Lamu, 24, 31, 46
Lander, Richard, 202 *et seq.*
Langalibalele, 177
Lavigerie, Cardinal, 151, 239
Leibnitz, 133
Lemon, the, 39
Lemur, the, 262
Lemuria, 2, footnote
Lenz, Dr Oskar, 215, 219
Leo Africanus, 192
Lesseps, De, 232
Le Vaillant, 201
Levantine Italians, 244
Liberia, 98, 122, 129, 130, 155, 156, 278
Libyan Desert, 213
Limpopo, R., 200
Linant de Bellefonds, 217
Liotard, M., 286
Liverpool, 97, 112
Livingstone, Dr, 52 *et seq.*, 100, 151, 156, 157, 180, 181, 207, 208 *et seq.*, 211, 212, 216, 237
Lixus, R. (the R. Draa), 6
Loanda, Saõ Paulo de, 37, 41, 43, 216
Loango, 41, 213
Lobengula, 186, 187, 188
Lobo, Jeronimo, 193
Lokoja, 117
London Convention, 87
— Company of Adventurers, 194
Lopez, Duarte, 35, 40
Lothaire, Major, 229
Lotos, Lotos Eaters, 9
Louis, St (Capital: Senegal), 122, 124, 212
— IX (Saint) of France, 20
— XIV of France, 71, 133, 231, 263
— Philippe, 129, 142
Lourenço Marquez, 56
Lovedale, 156
Lualaba, 212, 213, 216, 250
Luangwa, R., 54, 222
Luapula, R., 52, 212, 222
Lüderitz, Herr, 251, 252
Lugard, Colonel, 132, 240
Lupton Bey, 217
Lyon, Capt. G., 201
Lyons Missionaries, 150

Macarthy, Sir Charles, 109
Macdonald, Major, 223
Macgregor, Laird, 116, 204
Macguire, Corporal, 207
Mackenzie, Bishop, 157
Mackinnon, Sir Wm., 239, 240
Maclean, Charles, 109
Macmahon, Maréchal: his Delagoa Bay award, 57, 178
Madagascar, 4, 12, 32, 153, 261 *et seq.*
Madan, Mr, 157
Madeira, 32, 39
Magdala, 248
Magdishu, 31, 46
Mahdi (Sudan), 217, 233, 246; Mahdis frequently arising in Islam, 18, 19
Maistre, C., 144
Maize, 39, 40
Majerda, R., 5
Makololo, the, 54
Makua, the, 49, 51, 59, 74
Malagasy people, 262, 265
Malay races, 4, 12; (in South Africa), 70; 161, 164, 265
Malindi, 31, 46
Malta, 18
— Knights of, 21, 24
Maltese, 62, 137, 282

Mamluks, 133
Mandingoes, 127
Manika, 49, 51
Manyema, 100, 212, 228
Maples (Archdeacon, then Bishop), 157, 218
Marabut, Marabitin (Almoravides), 18
Marchand, Capt., 235, 285, 286
Marie of Madagascar, St, 264, 267, 268
Marinus of Tyre, 192
Marno, 217
Maroons, 107
Masai, 221
Masawa, 195, 246
Mashonaland, 59, 187, 218
Maskat, 25, 32, 50, 100, 237
— Arabs, 25
Mason Bey, 211, 217
Massari, Lieut. A. M., 213
Massowah, *see* Masawa
Masudi, 192
Matabele, -land, 59, 188
Matadi, 229
Matteucci, Dr, 213
Mauch, Karl, 186, 218
Mauritius, 32, 69, 176, 188, 189, 264, 267, 270
Mayo, Earl of, 220
Mayotta, 269
Mazagan, 28
McClear, Sir Thomas, 209
McQueen, James, and the Niger, 203
Mecca, 19, 22
Mehedia, 61, 243
Meilleraye, Duc de la, 263
Melilla, 21, 61, 63
Mello, Duarte de, 31, 46
— Miani, Giovanni, 210
Menelik, Emperor, 246, 247, 248
Middlemen of W. African trade, 115
Millet, M. René, 141
Missionaries, Christian, 33, 34; (attitude towards Cape Dutch), 81, 82, 163; summing-up of their characteristics, 159
Missions, Christian, 146; *see* Christian
Mizon, Lieut., 119
Moçambique, 5, 24, 31, 46 *et seq.*, 51, 55, 74, 217, 218
— Co., 60
Moffat, Rev., 199, 200
Mohade, Al-, *see* Muahedim
Mohr, Edward, 218
Mojanga, 266, 273, 275
Mollien, Gaspard, 201
Mombasa, 31, 46, 49, 149, 237, 239, 255
Monastir, 61, 63
Monclaros (the Jesuit priest), 48
Monomotapa, 47, 49
Monteil, Col., 129, 222
Monteiro, Joachim Monteiro, Major, 199
Moorish conquests in Nigeria, 23
Moravide, *see* Marabut
Mordokhai Abi-Serur, 207
Morgen (explorer), 222
Morocco (Mauritania), 6, 10, 15, 16, 19, 21 *et seq.*, 28, 64, 121, 132, 213, 277, 278
— Spanish possessions in, 63
Mosilikatsi, *see* Umsilikasi
Mossamedes, 42
Mouzinho de Albuquerque, 59
Mtesa, King, 239
Muahedim (Almohade), 19 *et seq.*
Muhammad Ali, 121, 150, 210, 231, 232 *et seq.*
Muhammadan colonization, 25 *et seq.*
Muhammadanism, *see* Islam
Muhammadans, 13, 147, 283
Mulai Ismail of Morocco, 23
Muluya, R., 63
Muni, R., 64
Munzinger, 211
Murie, Dr, 210
Murzuk, 214, 215
Musa-bin-Nusseir, 15, 16
Mwanga, King, 240, 241
Mwata-Yanvo, 213, 218
Mweru, Lake, 52, 199, 212, 218, 222, 250

Nachtigal, Dr, 207, 214, 253
Namakwaland, 150, 161, 179, 180, 198, 251

Nana, attacks British, 286
Nantes, Edict of, 71
Naples, Neapolitans, 18, 243, 244
Napoleon the Great, 133, 134, 172, 231
— III, 135, 138, 139, 270
Natal, 71, 83, 166, 167 *et seq.*, 174, 175 *et seq.*, 280
Nature, her pranks, 162
Necho, Pharaoh, 5, 190
Negro, the, characteristics of, 91; warning to, 101, 102; Christian, 147; Muhammadan, 147; future of, 281 *et seq.*
Negroes, 2, 3, 147
Negroid races (Nubians, Fulas, Mandingoes, etc.), 3, 9, 127, 128, 144, 281
Nelson, 133
Nero, 191
New York Herald, 212
Ngami, Lake, 179, 199, 208
Nguru, 254
Nicholas I, Tsar, 232
Niger, Convention with France, 113, 119
— Coast Protectorate, 115, 116, 155, 286
— Company, Royal, 117, 118, 132, 251
— R., 10, 19, 23, 113, 114, 116 *et seq.*, 127, 131, 191, 195 *et seq.*, 201, 202, 204, 206, 280
— Delta, 94, 113, 116
Nigeria, 23, 118, 119, 206
Nikki, 132
Nile, the, 10, 12, 191, 192, 195, 209, 210, 211, 216, 218
Normans, 18, 33, 122
North African Mission, 158
Nosi-bé, 269, 273
Nupe, 120, 132, 202
Nyamnyam, 210, 215, 217
Nyangwe, 212
Nyanza, Albert, 209, 211, 217, 221, 222
— Albert Edward, 222
— Victoria, 209, 216, 221, 239, 255
Nyasa, Lake, 100, 152, 180, 181, 199, 211, 212, 217, 218, 257
Nyasa Company, 60
Nyasaland, 155, 157, 181, 217, 278
— German, 257

Oak tree in Cape Colony, 72
Obok, 145, 236, 245, 247, 248
Ogowe, R., 30, 143, 219
Ohrwalder, Father, 150
"Oil Rivers," 113, 115, 203
Old Calabar, 113, 114, 118, 155, 205
Oldfield, Dr, 204
Oman, 25, 32, 100, 237
Omdurman, victory of, 286
Omeiyad Khalifs, 14
Omo, R., 223
O'Neill, Lieut. H. E., 218
Onions, 39
Opobo, R., 116, 118
Oqba-bin-Nafa (the Prophet's barber), 14
Oran, 61, 63, 136, 137, 138
Orange Free State, 83, 84, 169, 173, 174, 184, 280
Orange, Prince of, 78, 80, 160
Orange River, 74, 84, 161, 173, 179, 198, 251, 253, 254
Orange tree, 39, 243
Ostrich, Ostrich farming, 161, 170, 173
Oswell, Mr, 208, 209
Oudney, Dr, 201
"Outlanders" (Uitlanders), 88, 90
Overweg, Dr, 206
Owen, Captain, 53, 57, 200, 237
— Major Roddy, 241

Paez, Pedro, 193
Pakenham, Mr, 274
Palm, *see* Cocoanut, Date
— oil, 113, 114
Panda, 185
Panet, M., 212
Park, Mungo, 116, 196 *et seq.*, 200, 207
Passarge, Herr, 222
Peacock, the, in Tunis, 8
Peebles and Mungo Park, 197
Pemba, Is., 46, 239
Perim, Is., 145, 236

Persia, -n Empire, 10
Persian influence on Zanzibar coast, 24
— Gulf, 32, 50
Persians, 24
Peters, Dr, 240, 254
Petherick, Mr and Mrs, 210, 214
Pfeiffer, Mme Ida, 214, 270
Pfeil, Count, 254
Philip II of Spain and Portugal, 35, 41
Phillips, his murder, 287
Phœnicians, 4—6
Pierre, Admiral, 273, 274
Pig (domestic), 39
Pigeon, 40
Pigmies (dwarf races), 10
Pirates (Madagascar), 264
— (Moorish), 18, 244
— (Turkish), 24, 61 *et seq.*
Pisa, 243
Pisania, 197
Pitt, organises second expedition to take Cape Colony, 79
Pliny, 191
Pögge, Dr, 218
Polignac, Prince de, 268
Pondoland, 168
Pope Leo XIII, 151, 241
Portal, Sir Gerald, 240
Portendik, 105, 125
Porto Novo, 112, 129
Portugal, origin of, 27; invades Morocco, 21, 28; receives from Pope Martin V the prior right to the lands between Morocco and India, 29
— and Dahomey, 44
— and England, 103
— and Germany, 256
Portuguese East Africa, 45, 51, 59, 60, 147, 287
— Guinea, 44, 220
— language, 27, 107, 113, 282
— people, 27; explorers, 29, 38, 216; on the Gold Coast, 30; round the Cape of Good Hope, 30; visit Abyssinia, 31, 32; oust the Arabs from East Africa, 31; Christianise the Congo, 33; abandon it, 36; regain it (1884), 36; take possession of Angola, 37 *et seq.*; confer great benefits on Africa's food supply, 39, 40; struggle to regain Angola from the Dutch, 41; attempt to open up overland communication between Angola and Moçambique, 42; abolish slave-trade, 43; dispute with England about Portuguese Guinea, 44; names given to many places in coast regions of West Africa, 45; colonization of East coast of Africa, 45 *et seq.*; defeat the Turks in great naval battle, 49; on the Zambezi, 49; definition of their East coast possessions in 1752, 51; revival of energy at close of 18th century, 51; jealousy of England, 53; claims to Delagoa Bay, 56 *et seq.*; dispute with Zanzibar about Tungi Bay, 58; relations with British South Africa Company, 59; conquest of Gungunyama, 59; settlements on the Gambia, 104; influence on Niger Delta, 113; missionaries, 146; discover St Helena, 172; the Portuguese and Nyasaland, 181, 182; in Madagascar, 262
Potato, the, 39
Prester John, 32
Pretoria, 89, 90
Prime Minister of Madagascar, 272, 275, 276
Prince Henry of Portugal, *see* Henry
Prince Imperial of France, 185
Princes Is. (principe), 33, 39, 40, 43
Pringle, Capt., 223
Pronis, first French Governor of Madagascar, 262, 263
Prostitutes sent to Sierra Leone, 108
Protectionist policy in French Colonies, 145, 276
Protestant Missions in Africa, 148, 153
Prussia in Africa, 214, 249

Psammetik, 9
Ptolemies, 9, 10
Ptolemy the Geographer, 192, 261
Ptolomaeus Soter, 10
Punic, *see* Phœnicians
Purdy Bey (Col.), 217

Quadra, Gregorio de, 38
Queens of Madagascar, 268 *et seq.*
Quelimane, 24, 31, 47, 52 *et seq.*, 209

Rabodo (Rasoherina), Queen, 271
Radama I, King, 266, 267, 268
— II, King, 271
Railway, British, in Tunis, 140
Railways, 43, 113
— in Cape Colony, 177
— Beira to Mashonaland, 178
— in Congo Free State, 229
— Cape to Cairo, 242
Rainilaiarivony, Prime Minister, 272
Rakoto, Prince, 269
Ranavalona, Queen, 268, 269
— II, Queen, 272
— III, Queen, 274
Ras Kasar, 245
Reade, Winwood, *see* Winwood Reade
Rebmann, Rev., 149, 207
Red Sea, the, 10, 31, 49, 145, 245
Reichard (Geographer), 203
Reichardt (Explorer), 218
— (Missionary), 150
Réunion (Bourbon), 32
Révoil, M., 223
Rhodes, Right Hon. Cecil J., 89, 90, 182, 183, 186, 187, 188
Rhodesia, 184, 188, 220, 280
Ribat (on the Niger), 18
Ribeek, van, 68
Rice, 39
Richardson, James, 206
Richelieu, Cardinal, 262
Rio d'Ouro (Rio de Oro), 7, 29, 64, 121, 122, 212
Rio del Rey, 115, 119
Ritchie, Mr, 201
Rohlfs, Gerhard, 207, 213
Roman Catholic Missions, 146 *et seq.*, 150 *et seq.*, 152, 239, 240, 241, 262, 271, 276
Roman Empire, 10, 11, 17, 191, 192
Romans, the, 7, 12, 191
Rome, 140
Royal Geographical Society, 209, 213, 219
Rubault, M., 201
Rukwa, Lake, 219
Rupert, Prince of Madagascar, 262
Rüppell, 208
Ruspoli (Explorer), 223
Russell, Earl, 180
Russia, 233
Russia's action in Abyssinia, 159, 245, 246, 247
Russian Germany, 216
Ruvuma, R., 46, 58, 193, 212, 218, 237, 238, 256, 257
Ruwenzori, Mt, 211, 221, 223

Sabaeans, 31
Sahara desert, 7, 12, 64, 120, 141, 202, 206, 212, 215, 279, 280
Sahati, 246
Saint Helena Is., *see* Helena, St
Sakalava, the, 269
Saker, Rev. Mr, 158
Salt, Henry, 200
Samori, 127, 128, 129, 285, 286
Sand River Convention, 84, 168
Sansanding, 197
Saracenic Architecture, 26, 152
Saracens, 243
Sardinia, 243
Say (on the Niger), 119, 132, 206
Schön, Rev. J. F., 150
Schweinfürth, Dr, 207, 216, 217
Sclater, Capt. B. L., 223
Scotch, Scotsmen, 80; similarity with Dutch, 81, 116, 162; in Nyasaland, 183
Scott-Elliott, Mr, 223
Sebastiaõ, Dom (King of Portugal), 21, 28, 35, 37
— Saõ, Fort of, at Moçambique, 46
Sego (Niger), 197, 198

Selous, Mr F. C., 220
Semitic Colonization, 4
Semliki, R., 211, 222
Sena (Zambezi), 31, 47, 48, 52, 53
Senār (Egypt), 151, 195
Senegal, R., 7, 29, 105, 123
— Colony, 105, 124, 125
Senegalese, 131, 275
Senegambia, 19, 24, 124, 151, 280
Serpapinto, Colonel, 54, 216
Seychelles Islands, 189, 266
Sfax, 61, 63
Sharifian dynasty of Morocco, 22
Shari, R., 119, 144, 202, 222
Sharpe, Mr Alfred, 222
Shaw, Dr, 195
— Mr (Madagascar), 273, 274
Sheep, 161
Shepstone, Sir T., 86, 184
Sherboro, R., 7
Shire Highlands, 54, 156, 181
— River, 52, 181, 193
Shoa, 145, 199, 219, 246
Sicily, Sicilians, 18, 192, 243
Sierra Leone, 7, 44, 65, 99, 106 *et seq.*, 128, 148
Sikhs, 100, 183, 241
Sims, Dr, 156
Slachter's Nek, 166
Slave Trade, 29, 30, 43, 53, 92 *et seq.*, 96, 101
— Abolition of, 43, 53, 96, 107, 164, 269
Slavery, 30, 81, 91, 107, 162, 269
Slaves (Christian), 148
— (Negro), 70, 92, 107, 142, 164
Smith, Sir Harry, 165, 168
Sobat, R., 191, 214, 235
Sofala, 4, 24, 31, 46, 48, 76, 192
Sokoto, 118, 120, 198, 203, 206
Sokotra, Is., 10, 31, 236
Sokya (Askia) dynasty in Sudan, 22 *et seq.*
Soleillet, Paul, 212
Somaliland, Somalis, 10, 24, 145, 208, 223, 237, 247, 278
Somerset, Lord Charles, 162, 166
Songhai, 120, 214
Sonnerat, 264
Sonnini, 195
Spain, 16, 19, 21
— in Africa, 61 *et seq.*, 277
Spanish, 107, 137, 283
Speke, Capt. J. H., 207, 209, 210
Spices, West African, 104
Stadhouder (*also see* Prince of Orange), 73, 198
Stairs, Capt., 228
Stanley, H. M., 143, 153, 207, 212, 216, 217, 219, 221
Stanley Pool, 229
Steere, Bishop, 157, 218
Stettin, von, 222
Stewart, Rev. Dr James, 156
Stibbs, Capt. Bartholomew, 195
Stockenstrom, Andries, 166
Stokes, Mr, 229, 240
Stover, Rev. W. M., 156
Strabo, 191
Suakin, 245
Sudan (Egyptian), 145, 150, 217, 233, 234, 277
— (Negro Africa), 7, 13, 22, 23, 92, 120, 144, 202
Suez, 231
— Canal, 173, 232
Suffetula (Sbeitla), 14
Suffren, Admiral, 75
Sugar-cane, the, 39, 40, 175
Sūs country (South of Morocco), 6
Susa (Tunis), 61, 63
Swahili (people and language), 256, 282
Swayne, Capt., 223
Swaziland, 87
Sweden, Swedes, 97, 108, 110, 226, 227
Swiss missionaries, 154, 155

Tabarka, 243
Tamatave, 266, 269, 273
Tana, R., 255
Tanganyika, Lake, 100, 151, 153, 183, 187, 188, 209, 212, 213, 216, 219, 242, 250, 257
Tangiers, 16, 21, 28, 121
Tappenbeck, Lieut., 222
Tarik, 16
Taveita, 95

Tawareq (Tamasheq), 131, 141, 201, 212, 215
Tel-el-Kebir, 233
Tete, 49, 147, 152
Tetwan, 63
Thomé, Saõ (Thomas, St), (Is.), 33, 43
Thompson, Capt. George, 194
Thomson, Joseph, 118, 207, 219, 221, 238, 239
Tibesti, 213, 214
Tigre, 246, 247
Timbuktu, 22, 29, 130, 131, 193, 195, 196, 201, 206, 207, 219
Tinné, Alexandrine, 214, 215
"Tippoo-Tib," Tipu-Tipu, 226
Tlemsan, 19
Tobacco, 39
Togoland, 154, 254, 259
Toole, Mr, 202
Tozer, Bishop, 157
Transcontinental Telegraph, 183, 188
Transsaharan Railway, 141
Transvaal, 83, 85, 86 *et seq.*, 168, 184, 186, 280
Tripoli, 14, 17, 21, 24, 99, 120, 121, 201, 202, 206, 244, 278
Tristan d'Acunha Is., 45, 173; *see* Acunha, Tristaõ d'
Troglodytes, 7
Tsetse fly, 48
Tuckey, Capt., 200
Tugela, R., 168
Tulbagh, Governor, 73, 198
Tungi Bay, 58
Tunis, Tunisia, 5, 8, 11, 14, 15, 17, 24, 61 *et seq.*, 99, 121, 139, 145, 151, 244, 278
Turkey, Turks, 23 *et seq.*, 49, 61 *et seq.*, 98, 133, 134, 139
Twat, 23, 213

Ubangi, R., 143, 217, 219
— Province, 286
Uechtritz, Herr, 222
Uganda, 151, 217, 223, 239, 240 *et seq.*
Ujiji, 212
Umba, 256
Umsilikasi, 186
United States of America, 98, 147, 167, 278
Utica, 5

Vaal River, 84
Vacher de Rochelle, 263
Vandals, 13
Vandeleur, Lieut., 223
Vardon, Major, 200
Vasco da Gama, 31, 45, 47
Vaugèle, Capt., 219
Venice, Venetians, 18, 29, 49, 103, 210, 243
Verde, Cape, 7
— Islands, 39, 45
Vermuyden, 195
Victoria Nyanza, *see* Nyanza
Vincent, M., the explorer, 212
Vine, the, 39, 70, 161
Virunga, Mt (Volcano), 223
Vogel, Dr, 206
Volta, R., 110, 260

Wadai, 24, 207, 213, 214, 278
Walfish Bay, 179, 199, 208, 251, 253
Wanga, 256
Wargla, 141
Warren, Sir Charles, 87, 186
Waterboer, 173
Weatherly, Mr Poulett, 222
Webbe-Shebeili River, 223, 248
Welle, R., 217, 219, 228
Welsh, 162
West African Settlements, 108, 111
— India Company, Dutch, 67, 68
— Indies, 93, 97, 107, 147
Wheat, 39, 70
"White Fathers," the, 151
White peoples, 101
Whyda (Dahome), 44, 109
Wilberforce, 94, 108
William IV of England, 269
Willoughby, Digby, 274
Wilson, Rev. J. L., 156
Winton, Sir Francis de, 109, 226
Winwood Reade, 95, 215
Wissmann, Major H. von, 219, 250, 256, 257

Witbooi, 259
Witu, 255
Woelfel, Lieutenant, 129, 286
Wolseley (Sir Garnet, afterwards Viscount), 111, 178
Wood, Sir Richard, 121, 139
Wool, 161, 173

Yao, Wa-, the, 100, 152, 157
Yellow fever, 95
— peoples, 101
Yonnis, the, 108
Yorubaland, 202
Yussuf-bin-Tashfin, 19

Zambezi, R., 5, 24, 47, 48, 52, 53, 147, 152, 180, 181, 187, 200, 208, 259, 278, 280, 281
Zambezia, 51, 54, 220
Zanzibar, 3, 11, 24, 25, 46, 49, 50, 58, 100, 121, 149, 157, 192, 237 *et seq.*, 242, 248, 250, 255, 256, 257
Zebra, the, 40
Zimba, Ba- or Va-, 4
Zimbabwe, 76, 218
Zintgraff, Dr, 222
Ziri dynasty (N. Africa), 20
Zulus, Zululand, Zulu-Kaffir race, 77, 83, 166, 168, 184, 185, 186
Zumbo, 51, 54, 152

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY J. AND C. F. CLAY,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

00035321

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 31 October, 2019

